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ABSTRACT

The 1976 Claremont, California, symposium to exchange and clarify ideas regarding the study and implementation of new alternatives to quality cultural education focused on two main concepts. The first was the concept of transcultural education design; the second, that cultural uniqueness in our society results from the capability to be responsive and responsible to opportunities of having cultural options with more than one defined culture. Fifteen presentations from the symposium have been collected in this book of readings intended for teachers, counselors, curriculum planners, resource specialists, teacher trainers, and administrators. The articles address the rationale, design, and instructional process of transcultural education; bilingual transcultural education; teacher preparation for a pluralistic society and for bilingual teachers; materials evaluation and selection; curriculum development; testing and cultural diversity; and social studies and transcultural education. (Author/SB)

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CULTURAL ISSUES IN EDUCATION

a book of readings

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CULTURAL ISSUES IN EDUCATION

The NMMMDC staff extends its appreciation to its good friend and colleague, DENI LEONARD, whose inspiration, support, and personal commitment to quality education for all children helped bring to fruition the symposium which led to this book.

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PREFACE

The works presented herein provide highly positive stimulation, laced generously with frustration. Conscious practitioners of interdisciplinary approaches to problem solving will relate easily to this. They have been there before in attempting to bring a multi-dimensional approach to the discussion of a new concept and the implications derived therefrom. They know the hazards of non-traditional approaches that transcend the bonds of any one discipline. This has been notable in cases suggesting that *the* dominant American middle-class value system and the cultural practices stemming therefrom are not immutable and possibly are not the ultimate good that man can achieve on Earth! Like it or not, this appears to be a major implication of these readings. Obviously, this implication may prove annoying to those who are struck by the strong possibility of its validity.

Without intending to detract from those who so spectacularly broke essential ground in the latter 18th and the 19th Centuries in their development of new systems and schools of thought, it must be asserted that today's inquiry-oriented, Educator-scholar feels imprisoned by the 19th Century Frame of Reference that exerts such a dominant influence on 20th Century thought and action. This is particularly true with regard to the mechanistic cliches and related practices that Education inherited. Notable here is the view of the learner as a receptacle into which knowledge is poured; the learning process as simply regurgitating input, and evaluation as a matter of assessing the quantity of regurgitation. How the input is received by and processed through the learner's mental-muscle-mind is of little, if any, importance: learning is simply a matter of consistent, rigorous, and repetitive exercise. To suggest that students' varying cultural heritages are valued resources rather than impediments to the smooth operation of this process would be considered the ultimate Educational heresy!

Teachers' lives are fairly secure in this traditional system. One has only to be a subject-matter master with enough strength to subdue the stronger and more recalcitrant of the reluctant learners. If too much effort is required to teach "these people," they are to be removed. "Truth" lies in the text as interpreted by the teacher. Its subject-matter and values are presented, absorbed, repeated, and graded. No challenges are accepted in the classroom. It is unfortunate that many Americans have not escaped this frame of reference. They make it difficult to consider objectively the implications of a vital concept like "transculturalization."

Perhaps all of this is a straw man devised to set the stage for the enjoyment of a good set of readings. Non-traditionalists may take comfort in the knowledge that "received dogmas" have always been forced to contend with worthwhile challengers. So it has been in Education. Tradi-

tional Education was jarred and improved by Dewey and the Progressive emphasis on application of knowledge by the learner. New dimensions with regard to the process of teaching and learning have been suggested and validated by the Blooms, Bruners, Fentions, Suchmans, Tabas, and many of the teacher-scholars who put their ideas on the line in this volume. As a group they find it necessary not only to analyze the process by which students consume, assimilate, and apply knowledge, but also how the learning environment created by teachers, their attitudes, values, and materials facilitate and/or impede the operation of the learning process. Teachers in this system cannot luxuriate in the objective simplicity of the traditional approach, which precluded such variant thought, and which especially was not obviously congruent with the dominant value profile and practices of middle-class Americans.

It is reassuring to note that the writers in this volume frankly acknowledge the complexities facing them as professionals. They attempt to understand and utilize cultural dynamics in teaching today's children and youth. They accept the proposition that our mutual interdependence in this socio-economic system requires new, accepting attitudes toward the learning opportunities offered by our various rich cultural heritages. They would also agree that their task is and will continue to be "laced generously with frustration," but that the worth of the mission makes it bearable, if not absolutely essential.

If nothing else, coming to grips with the transcultural concept requires patience and a high tolerance for ambiguity. It demands that one be positively stimulated by complexity. This is not for those who like their profession in neat, manageable packages: they should try some other field. One receives a distinct impression of tentativeness, often of groping, as the concept, implications, and implementation of transculturalization are considered here. Perhaps this is as it should be in a society that seems to be increasingly characterized by crashing absolutes.

In any event, it is always stimulating to be in the forefront of a new development in any legitimate field. One is doubly honored in this instance, not only because of the distinguished company, but also because of being directly involved in the first major effort of the Multilingual Multicultural Materials Development Center.

Dr. Alvin H. Thompson, Director
Teacher Preparation Center
California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

INTRODUCTION

The 1971 *White House Conference on Youth Report* includes a statement of the Education Advisory Task Force Subcommittee which challenges educators to design new curriculum models stating: "The primary goal of education should be self-actualization of all individuals served, not preparation of individuals to fit existing social slots which are determined by economic consideration, but the focus must always be on the student as a person rather than on the content as subject."

Accepting that Subcommittee challenge, the staff of the National Multilingual Multicultural Materials Development Center concluded that in order to design and develop new curriculum materials, it was essential, first, to explore the relationship of bilingual multicultural education philosophies and curriculum and instruction theories with prevailing positions in other areas of mainstream education. The staff invited professionals actively engaged in the study and implementation of new alternatives to quality cultural education to a symposium for the exchange and clarification of ideas. The symposium was held at Claremont, California in May of 1976.

The concept of a transcultural education design was established as a basis for symposium presentations and discussions to generate thought to support and challenge the notion. This conceptualization resulted from the challenge of the Subcommittee and the realization that culture, individuality, and their relationship to each other must be accommodated and enhanced by the education process. (See Dr. Hamblin's paper, for "A Transcultural Education Rationale.")

In addition to the challenge, the National Multilingual Multicultural Materials Development Center staff believes that cultural uniqueness in our society results from the capability to be responsive and responsible to opportunities of having cultural options with more than one defined culture; to become "oneself" while maintaining one's first cultural privileges.

The views of the presentors focus on these two concepts and reflect a wide range of concerns. The National Multilingual Multicultural Materials Development Center staff felt the duty to present the reader with the multiplicity of ideas which may generate further progress in meeting national, state, and local goals and objectives of bilingual multicultural education. This is done in the hopes that the reader will perform at the next plateau in our multicultural pluralistic society as a citizen and educator.

It is hoped that the topics presented will be of some operationally practical value for teachers, counselors, curriculum planners, resource specialists, teacher trainers, administrators — those who make decisions affecting policy and practice.

Roberto L. Ortiz

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A Transcultural Education Rationale

Rick L. Hamblin

The transcultural perspective is not a panacea. It is not an answer in itself. Rather, it is a recognition that all individuals have the freedom and right to honor both their own and other cultures in order to design the individuals they wish to become.

IN A MOST provocative *White House Conference on Youth Report* (1971), the Education Advisory Task Force Subcommittee challenged American educators to design new curriculum models, stating:

The primary goal of education should be self-actualization of all *individuals served, not preparation of individuals to fit existing social slots which are determined by economic consideration . . . The focus must always be on the student as a person rather than on the content as subject.* (p. 94 and 97)

The report also stated that students should help design individualized education programs suited to their particular competencies and goals. The subcommittee findings indicate the need, long recognized by contemporary educators, to treat persons as individuals and to require such recognition in guiding their academic, cultural, and personal pursuits accordingly. Those recommendations are a challenge to educators to redesign the education system to make greater provision for individuality.

According to Orlosky and Smith (1972), current curriculum practices developed within the education community stand a 50 percent chance of successful adaptation with lasting effects. Their findings pose even stronger challenges to educators to provide a functional concept of education for individuality.

Traditional models emphasize transmitting the culture of the past; essentially, such education becomes a series of planned exercises in the organized knowledge of the past. Education models should reflect the present and should project the future supported by studies of the past. Minimal provision has been made for adaptation to the learner's charac-

teristics or goals — subordinating teaching to learning. In fact, "Individual differences among children have sometimes been regarded as a nuisance in educational programs since they prevent uniformity in classification, curriculum, methods, and results" (Leeper, 1971, p. 35).

One response to these challenges is to provide for cultural diversity within the education community in the United States. Better yet, educators should provide individuals with the opportunity to select transcultural options.

A transcultural emphasis in education must take into account the interrelatedness of culture and individuality. It must view individual learners as viable contributors to the education process, to society, and to their own growth.

Any attempt to conceptualize a transcultural education rationale must focus upon the identification and consociation of all facets of *person*, *society*, and *subject matter* (Tyler, 1949).

Primary emphasis must be placed upon the *individuality* of the person (Morris, 1961 and 1966; Kneller, 1958). Consideration of the cultural perspectives of individuality must be given equal emphasis (Morris and Pai, 1976). This paper emphasizes the transcultural aspect of individuality, which enables one to actualize his/her own "self-designed individual." The rationale subsumes each person's need to master basic knowledge and skills and stresses that a value-clarification and value-development system is necessary for the individual to become authentic and autonomous.

The term *transcultural* should not be misconstrued to include all implications of "trans" and "cultural" as separate terms. Dictionary definitions, as well as educational and social implications, or *bi*cultural, *multi*cultural, and *cross*-cultural education are complex. In this rationale, the term *transcultural* refers to the individual's opportunity and ability to select characteristics from one or more cultures to design and develop one's own individuality. This definition clearly establishes the intent of the rationale: to enhance individualism through the education process of syncretizing cultural options.

The transcultural education rationale provides the framework for the development of (1) curriculum, (2) instruction, and (3) sub-models of education. The rationale is not a transformation of any existing rationale. The conceptualized structure is consonant with contemporary societal issues. It utilizes new and significant research findings on human growth and development, learning, curriculum, instruction, and evaluation.

Cultural syncretism encourages reconciliation of two or more cultural systems. This process is not the same as the "melting" of cultures into a single culture; rather, it requires a base in one's private culture for interpretation of characteristics from other culture systems. Syncretism encourages individuality and personal identity.

The Axioms and Related Concepts

This education rationale involves six axioms:

-- the challenge to design an education model;
— a definition of education;
— a definition of individuality;
— a definition of culture;
— an interpretation of each element and its relationship; and
— issues within the transcultural education model.

AXIOM 1. Education programs must reflect, and be consistent with, the contemporary goals of society. The programs must also be suited to the student's individual competencies and goals. Educators must develop an education system that facilitates the attainment of agreed-upon goals.

A Concept of Education

Education is often defined as a process of *initiating* young people into ways of thinking and behaving. It can also refer to the development of childish concerns to conceptual thought. Another popular viewpoint is that education is the effort of a community to "recreate" itself: each generation rising to perpetuate itself in history. Each of these definitions of education has a predilection toward molding the young in behavior and goal patterns that will enable them to fit into available social and economic slots.

A growing avant-garde group, defines education as the "emerging" of oneself toward a self-designed authenticity and autonomy. This conception of education accommodates the values of each individual's personality and culture. If education is to serve students in our democratic society, its underlying philosophy must be in tune with society's view of the individual. The conceptual focus of such an education model must nurture the "emerging" of individuals, not the adaptation of persons to roles. Morris and Pai (1976) state:

> *The educators' task is to place at the disposal of the young as many different "climates" as they can conceive of . . . From these "climates" the youngster's own selfhood will create its own "climate" . . . When we choose for the child, says the Existentialist, by giving prior design and tone to the environment in the school, by that much we diminish the child as a human being.* (p. 81)

A transcultural education and its supporting philosophy must emphasize the *emergence of self*. This concept is compatible with the basic philosophical tenets of the transcultural education model.

AXIOM 2. Education must not be viewed as the processing of a defined product but as the "emerging" of oneself toward a self-designed, authentic, autonomous individual. This definition accommodates the philosophical notion of individuality, which responds to contemporary societal goals.

A Concept of Individuality

Educators, not alone among professionals, find the understanding of individuality difficult. They are being forced by society, sometimes through legislation, to recognize some basic fallacies in their earlier con-

ceptions of education. Educators must become vividly aware of what is essential to individuals and of the individual's relationship to culture.

The individual has traditionally held an exalted position in our democratic society. Both custom and law have firmly established the principles of this relationship. It is reasonable and necessary, therefore, that educational programs focus on the individual.

An individual is a complex phenomenon, an interaction of biological, psychological, and cultural components, a unique personality with ideals, feelings, and desires. The individual must be considered as a whole person, as everything that one chooses to be.

The complexity of individualism is not given as a simple fact of human existence. Rather, it is a *potentiality*, actualized by each person at each stage of life. Individuality is the singular identity that results from recognition and acceptance of one's feelings, fears, hopes, possibilities, and limitations. It acknowledges all aspects of a person without suppression, delusion, or escape. It means that whatever one does proceeds from one's own authentic being.

One helpful view of individuality was expounded by Kierkegaard (Kierkegaard, 1939; Kneller, 1958; Morris, 1961, 1966; Morris and Pai, 1976), who explained the essence of life in terms of the life choices humans make. He advocated man living an "experiencing life," approaching life's challenges actively and realistically.

Acknowledgment of this view of the individual and of life is a challenge to educators to incorporate the concept of individuality into a basic philosophy and theory for an education model.

AXIOM 3. Individuality is a complex phenomenon identified by all the diverse components of life that constitute identity: a potentiality. It is a dynamic process resulting in the emergence of individual characteristics. Individuality is dependent upon the interaction of one's education and culture(s) as one chooses to relate to reality. Individuals have ideas, emotions and desires, which have originated within their culture.

A Concept of Culture

Studying the historical evolution of society in the United States affords an interesting view of where our society is today and how it got there. We have come a long way from the original "melting pot" illusion.

Edward B. Taylor defines culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society" (Morris and Pai, 1976, p. 409). Morris and Pai expand this thought, stating that as man transmits these cultural elements from one generation to another, acculturation takes place. They go on to state:

Culture is more than a set of acts or beliefs; rather, it is that which gives special meanings to these acts, objects, and events.-(p. 409)

Numerous diverse cultural interactions result in the transmission of ethnic values and ideals between cultures. These values and ideals are

constantly changing — as is the concept of individuality. Contemporary education must allow for, and encourage, individuals to select those aspects of other cultures they wish to accept as their own — while maintaining the primary culture as a base for making those choices.

Language, the voice of culture, reflects the values and traditions that determine the culture's uniqueness. Full bilingualism involves the ability to think, symbolize, and communicate in two languages. Therefore, if one is bilingual, cultural awareness becomes easier and one's varied cultural experiences have greater meaning. Bilingualism is a major component of a transcultural model and must be addressed as a base for intercultural communication in the curriculum and instruction design.

During the "melting pot" era attempts were made to assimilate diverse cultures into one culture. The need for this thrust is obvious in the great struggle for a new society. Later, society went through eras characterized by bicultural, multicultural, and cross-cultural philosophies. While each was intended to answer the needs of society at that time, none really provided for individuality within cultures as none had a theoretical base. During each era, educators in the United States made vain attempts to establish curriculum patterns that would recognize and deal with the particular need of the time. One valid reason for some individuals to break away from the Anglo-Saxon middle-class is to take on the task of creating a transcultural accommodation within the education system. These culturally diverse individuals have recognized that both their base culture and other cultures have beliefs and practices they accept. A formulation of new syntheses presents one answer to the question of how the education system can accommodate and be enriched by diversity.

The transcultural perspective is not a panacea. It is not an answer in itself. Rather, it is a recognition that all individuals have the freedom and right to honor both their own and other cultures in order to design the individuals they wish to become.

Within the transcultural perspective lies the concept of recognizing the worth of individuality. Much is required to establish a transcultural education model: definitions of culture, individuality, education, and their inter-relationships.

Civilization is not a fixed entity. It will continue to evolve, regardless of poorly designed or ineffective education programs; mankind, however, will progress intellectually and socially if individuals are encouraged to explore possibilities, to learn how to choose between alternatives, and to objectively evaluate the events of their lives. The transcultural concept, built on the inherent value of diverse cultural experiences, maintains that cultural awareness can result only from person-awareness. Without person-awareness, people are merely reflecting a prefabricated value system from a ready-made mold. Without genuine person-awareness, society and civilization seem meaningless.

AXIOM 4. Culture is a set of beliefs, objects and event acquired by individuals as members of society, and transmitted from one generation to another; it is also that which gives meaning to these beliefs, objects and events. Transcultural perspectives enable individuals to select those aspects of other cultures which blend with their own cultural being.

AXIOM 5. Language, the voice of a culture, reflects a culture's uniqueness. Bilingualism facilitates cultural awareness and meaning in more than one culture. Bilingualism is a base for intercultural communication.

Inter-relationships and Issues

Although great technological progress has occurred (e.g., the invention of the propeller airplane and, subsequently, the jet and the rocket) within a few decades, a similar advance has not occurred in our philosophy of education. The "melting pot" theory, which once aimed to design a monocultural society, is irrelevant today now that our society is committed to the ideals of cultural pluralism. But, our society has progressed through bicultural, multicultural, and cross-cultural emphasis without corresponding impact upon the education system. Contemporary culture in the United States reflects an ideology based upon transcultural values — a culture in which one can design one's own unique synthesis of ethnic derivations to become an autonomous, authentic individual.

Have educators addressed themselves to these issues? Have transcultural educators implemented these new values in the education system? The answer to each question is "yes, in part." What is needed now is a transcultural education model. From this model, sub-models of curriculum and instruction can be developed and implemented. Specified models can be designed for early childhood education and for pre-school children of diverse cultures.

A transcultural education model which is person-centered is not a panacea for all the social ills of contemporary society. The essential characteristic of a transcultural education model is that the program ensure respect for the individual's dignity, beliefs, and capabilities, thus assuring meaningful interaction with others while maintaining a feeling for the paramount importance of the environment in which that individual lives.

AXIOM 6. A transcultural education model has as its goal self-actualization of the individual within diverse cultural environments, allowing for the emerging of an authentic and autonomous self. It is a model adapted to a diverse and changing society rather than a model to build or maintain society.

The Rationale

The transcultural education rationale was derived from an analysis of the relationship of culture, language, education, and individuality. The philosophic foundations were derived from the following axioms:

1. Education programs must reflect, and be consistent with, the contemporary goals of society. The programs must also be suited to the student's individual competencies and goals. Educators must develop an education system that facilitates the attainment of agreed-upon goals.

2. Education must not be viewed as the processing of a defined product but as the "emerging" of oneself toward a self-designed, authentic, autonomous individual. This definition accommodates the philosophical notion of individuality, which responds to contemporary societal goals.
3. Individuality is a complex phenomenon identified by all the diverse components of life that constitute identity: a potentiality. It is a dynamic process resulting in the emergence of individual characteristics. Individuality is dependent upon the interaction of one's education and culture(s) as one chooses to relate to reality. Individuals have ideas, emotions and desires, which have originated within their culture.
4. Culture is a set of beliefs, objects and events acquired by individuals as members of society, and transmitted from one generation to another; it is also that which gives meaning to these beliefs, objects and events. Transcultural perspectives enable individuals to select those aspects of other cultures which blend with their own cultural being.
5. Language, the voice of a culture, reflects a culture's uniqueness. Bilingualism facilitates cultural awareness and meaning in more than one culture. Bilingualism is a base for intercultural communication.
6. A transcultural education model has as its goal self-actualization of the individual within diverse cultural environments, allowing for the emerging of an authentic and autonomous self. It is a model adapted to a diverse and changing society rather than a model to build or maintain society.

In recognizing that these axioms can be accommodated to a transcultural education model, the following assumptions can be formulated:

1. A transcultural education model consistently places primary value on the individual as the origin and function of the educational, the social, and the cultural processes.
2. Culture is the foundation of individuality; it constitutes the basis for each individual to design their own goals in life.
3. A transcultural education curriculum emphasizes the actualization of the individual's potentials through cultural understanding rather than through mastery of content or social adaptation.
4. The transcultural education model can feasibly be implemented in the classroom.

Tenets

The following set of principles, clarifying and interpreting the hypotheses and rationale, facilitate classroom implementation.

1. The transcultural education model views culture as the all-involving entity encompassing the individual, the origin and function of education, the individual's family structure, and the society in which he/she lives.
2. The individual is given first priority in transcultural education and is perceived as a learner with potentials to be actualized through the education process.
3. Curriculum is the selected knowledge, experiences, skills, and encounters leading to actualization of an individual's potentials; it is a tool for the realization of subjectivity, the process of enabling an individual to become authentic and autonomous.
4. The curriculum must incorporate values-clarification techniques into a

curriculum design.

5. Instruction is the process of communicating knowledge, experiences, skills, and encounters to effectively meet objectives of the learners.
6. Learning is the result of the individual's ability to realize potentials in order to develop authenticity and autonomous characterization.
7. Education is the process of awakening the authentic individual to become an autonomous learner and thinker.

Implications

Theoretical implications of the transcultural education rationale were derived from the axioms and tenets presented in order to indicate points of emphasis. They are guidelines for curriculum specialists and classroom instructors to establish goals and objectives for a curriculum transformation program.

Implications for the Individual

Each individual has cultural and linguistic characteristics that are basic to the foundation of inner being and an influence in formulating life goals.

Regardless of age, motivation level, or capabilities, each individual has the right to an education.

The right to maximize attainment of selfhood belongs to each individual.

Individuals have the privilege of directing their personal destinies to become authentic, autonomous persons.

Individuals have the freedom of choice and responsibility for actions, and they must accept the consequences of these choices.

Each individual must be provided with knowledge appropriate to his/her rate of progress.

Philosophical Implications

Individuals have the right and obligation to select characteristics from their culture, as well as characteristics from other cultures, for integration into their total personality.

The freedom to believe a philosophically unique doctrine belongs to the individual.

Each person has the right to make life authentic, autonomous, and purposeful.

Everyone has the freedom to express individual personality with responsibility and the intrinsic right to search for identity and meaning in all aspects of life.

The right to choose a personal, supernatural belief belongs to everyone as well as the right to perceive life experiences through selected cultural and linguistic characteristics.

Each individual has unique learning patterns, capabilities, and subjectivity.

Everyone has divergent levels of interests and desires, overt and covert potentials to be actualized, and the right to view knowledge subjectively

and consider learning as relativistic.

Cultural/Societal Implications

In developing a perspective of a world culture, each individual selects a cultural/societal position which evolves from a "first" culture perspective.

They must recognize elements of society as a phenomenon to be accepted, rejected, or modified, rather than merely an entity encompassing individuals.

As a member of a subculture, each person is a part of the total environment and has a unique contribution to make to society.

In order to further the societal organization, each individual should be allowed to attain maximum competency so that contributions to self, family, and elective society will achieve that purpose.

A fluid and pluralistic society is that in which the individual interacts to achieve the ultimate goal: authenticity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is necessary to relate these implications of a transcultural education rationale to diverse aspects of education. It is the challenges to the rationale that help to clarify its intent and increase its effectiveness. To design and develop curriculum from the rationale is to follow the rationale through the curriculum process. The classroom teacher must finally apply and clarify the instruction model to make transcultural education a force and a reality.

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2

Toward A Theory Of Bilingual-Transcultural Education

Caleb Gattegno

Only awareness is educable in man, and only self-education is true education.

THE FUNCTION of a theory is to integrate what is known in a field in such a way as to aid specialists in their search for new knowledge.

A theory can be proposed in a number of ways. In the various sciences, for example, we find theories of evolution (which attempt to make sense, in an integrated manner, of all facts in the field of biology), a theory of relativity (which proposes to consider, in an integrated space-time continuum, the phenomena of the physical universe), a quantum theory (which suggests that energy, like matter, be conceived as multiples of minimal amounts of quanta), and a theory of fluids (based on a number of axioms from which properties of fluids can be deduced and experimentally tested for reality).

To remain popular, a theory must prove fertile; i.e., allow researchers to discover new facts, make sense of what has previously seemed unexplainable, or introduce order where there has been none. When a good theory has been proposed, so many fields of study are stimulated that even though the theory may later be discredited, researchers try to formulate a modification or a substitute theory.

Many fields (e.g., meteorology, geology, economics, and medicine) have flourished without an overall conception that unifies the facts. Investigators tend to value the advent of a unifying theory since it helps them in their thinking and guides them in their research. But they also know that studies can be carried out empirically without a theoretical basis.

Education is a field in which research has been going on for many decades within a variety of theoretical orientations, which, while akin to theories, may have been formulated as definitions only. For example,

"education as transmission of knowledge" is more a definition than a theory.

In this paper, we propose a theory of education that has broad applicability, although we limit its presentation to a subfield, that of bilingual-transcultural education.

We must first circumscribe the components of the field we will work on. Education deals with changes that are not merely the outcome of a simple passage of time, but of a passage of time which produces "growth" from a seed to an organized whole. That growth can be perceived as an "unfolding process" entirely foreshadowed in the original seed, as chiefly affected by conditions in the environment, or as affected by the individual's participation in its growth in certain ways. The environment may require adaptation, which leads to a process more complicated than mere "unfolding." This two-way adaptation process, known to biologists as "assimilation and accommodation," takes into account both the developing individual and the milieu. But, since the individual belongs to a species, which maintains certain permanent features from generation to generation, there is also another component called heredity.

Educators, inspired first by biologists and later by sociologists, have more recently tried to view their activities as involving the "interaction of nature and nurture," the individual with her heredity representing nature, and the impacts of the environment representing nurture.

That viewpoint has constituted one basis for progressive education in all its guises: a recognition that freedom is required by the individual to fulfill his destiny, while discipline is needed to learn the tools (reading, mathematics, etc.) so that the individual's cultural heritage can be made available to him. The full spectrum of educational experiences available, from almost total freedom (as in A.S. Neil's school) to total discipline (as in Durkheim-inspired French schools), has meant that education has gone through a period of experimentation in an attempt to gather evidence concerning what can be done and what must be avoided if children are to reach desired goals.

Seventy-five years of such searching have failed to produce the basis for an acceptable theory of education, although they have enriched education in many ways, especially in the field of techniques and materials. Most of the teaching aids and the curriculum innovations so avidly adopted after both world wars (the alternatives to bookish learning accepted today) have come from the progressive educators of this century such as Montessori, Decroly, Dewey, Parkhurst, Cousinet, and Freinet.

The Role of The Individual Self In Learning

The question of who has the authority to impose changes and to transform others was raised as soon as the supernatural authorities were dethroned. Ultimately, only individuals who are prepared to pay the price for their mistakes are entitled to commit time and energy to what seems to be

in their best interest. Anyone who undertakes such responsibility on behalf of another is abusing power. If, for the good merchant, the customer is always right, then for the good educator, the learner is always right. Therefore, a new theory makes its appearance: that of the educator as facilitator of progress toward goals chosen by the learner.

But, what is the individual's basis for choosing what one does and how one does it? Are children knowledgeable? If we ask in terms of the knowledge accumulated by the generations, they are not. But, if we look at the proficiency with which they achieve lasting learning, they must be.

We all know our mother tongue better than the foreign languages taught at school. We learned our mother tongue between the ages of one and four with only our own curiosity to aid us as we explored our physical-social environment. (Parents and others, of course, provide models, reinforcement, and answers to questions.) To have managed language learning so young tells us that we must be capable of learning difficult things very early. In fact, at all ages we manage very well alone in our games, drawings, and other symbolic activities.

Learning seems to be a spontaneous function of the "self," one we are fully dedicated to for some time. As children, we often seem to know what we can do and what we cannot; when uncertain, we test new situations with attention to feedback. We find our will on the side of certain actions for which we are ready, and *it* is the true facilitator. Children work hard on tasks that are challenging to them, and, with persistence, they learn new behaviors. So, it is important to know the will and its functionings — not only for learners but for the educators.

No one can learn to stand or walk without being watchful or aware. Many activities of babies reveal at once how watchful they have to be to find their way in a universe so full of surprises and under the control of outsiders. Babies use their will to mastery because it is theirs, and with it they manage to acquire the enormous experience every inventory of their learning will display.

All this leads to the inevitable conclusion: *only awareness is educable in man; and only self-education is true education.*

A Theory of Bilingual and Transcultural Education

With such a solid principle on which to build, we can propose a theory of bilingual and transcultural education, of value to students, teachers, and the general public.

We shall begin with a clarifying example. Our hand, as an instrument of the self, serves many purposes, some precise (e.g., writing a string of words in any script), others gross (e.g., scrubbing floors). Besides the hand is the reality of the self that knows the hand, commands it, and involves it. The will is an attribute of that self; awareness is another. Still other attributes of the self are: intelligence, retention, affectivity, perception, action, and reflection.

To become aware is a requirement of meaningful living. To create automatisms frees the self; by subordinating routine activities, one can focus on learning what is new. Hence, much of what one *is* escapes one's awareness. We may appear to have achieved nothing worthy of note, when actually so much has been contributed by each of us using activities we have mastered, but with reduced awareness. We may fail to take pride in our remarkable achievements because neither we nor others have developed the habit of conscious awareness.

Education of awareness must begin by focusing on its attainment, so that everyone can know that conscious awareness of many aspects of living (previously routinized) is attainable and is fundamental to meaningful daily living.

With bilingual people, awareness of their highly developed throat capacities can serve this purpose. What monolingual people cannot do, bilingual people can do easily. Bilinguals can use their throats and mouths spontaneously to produce two complex sets of very different sounds, shifting in response from environmental cues to their own intentions. Hence, like one's hand, one's sound-production system is capable of performing different sets of complex functions in such a way that most people cannot do. Bilingual persons become aware of their wealth or of worth as functioning human-beings simply by increased awareness and appreciation of this ability to speak and switch languages at will.

The consciousness of one's self as bilingual can stop at simple awareness, but it can also extend one's education much further. One should be helped to realize that languages are not merely sets of words, but are also transmitted expressions of the spirit of those who, over many generations, have expressed specific thoughts within specific habitats, made specific demands, and offered specific opportunities. With this awareness, one comes to realize that through one's past experiences there have developed other powers that may be accessible and utilizable. This awareness is one of the new purposes of a bilingual education based on good foundations; a purpose which, while offering sufficient grounds for bicultural education, indicates that transcendence of one's limitations is achievable and that a rich transcultural education is possible.

It is difficult to view bilingual education in terms of traditional education because: (1) language development involves complex expressive and receptive skills, not memorized knowledge; (2) language production simultaneously involves the smooth working of automatisms and a conscious process of producing precisely what one wants to say; and (3) the complexities of language are not consciously understood by those who use it routinely as a means of communication only. Almost everyone takes for granted one of the most promising bases for knowing ourselves; i.e., our heritage as integrated in our language, our gestures and other unconscious manifestations, as well as our hopes for the future in terms of personal and

cultural advancement. As a forceful analogy, let us consider how past generations disregarded important sources of energy which could not increase our wealth and our standard of living until someone discovered their latent power. This analogy should help us to see the promise of latent, undiscovered abilities in the bilingual population.

Since bilingual education has not become integrated into the traditional monolingual education system, it is necessary to initiate profound changes in education — profund in the sense that educators will be required to re-evaluate the philosophical basis of their work.

We must perceive ourselves as learning systems expressing a variety of sensitivities by:

- — recognizing ourselves as masters of the subtle energy that energizes our functionings in our utterance system, our hearing system, and in our intelligence;
- — recognizing that we possess two complex sets of verbal and auditory images that are triggered abruptly when one reacts differentially to the content of the world or our inner dynamics;
- — recognizing inner climates that accompany listening to people, talking, and differ as the language differs;
- — recognizing that we have access to our thoughts *per se* as transcending specific languages; and
- — recognizing that we understand many things that escape monolinguals, and thus are equipped with more explicit powers and have access to a world that is closed to many others.

As educators we must consider it our responsibility to bring our bilingual students to these realizations, which go beyond the goals of traditional monolingual education. Educators must become attuned to the "linguistic person" in our students. The social and cultural aspects that are implicit in the spirit of the languages constitute another important universe of experience.

Relation of Languages to Modes of Thought

Most monolinguals do not recognize their inability to perceive the existence of many modes of thought among mankind. Rather, they consider their own thought system as universal and independent of their language. Anthropologists, however, have become sensitive to variations in the way people see themselves and their world; they know the fallacy of assuming that a single mode of thought exists, with all others considered to be approximations — some remote and others closer. The multiplicity of modes of extant thought is proof to the anthropologist of variations in actual life demands on various peoples.

If one population is active and productive, its members notice certain aspects of their world and wish to explain and control them. Another population may be more concerned with inner life and given to contemplating the universe; these people wish to convey what they perceive as most important.

These two populations will differ in more than vocabulary. The very ways they make their language behave will distinguish them, revealing the spirit of their language and their mode of thought. Conversely, it may be possible to understand how a population perceives itself and its world by studying the language.

If this is true, then, the truly bilingual person has two modes of thought at his/her disposal in one somatic system, both available for communication with monolingual groups whose members may not suspect the existence of the other.

A Historical Perspective

The English language was developed first in the British Isles where its characteristics were molded by the styles of living and modes of thought peculiar to that habitat. Having developed over centuries an adequate response to the human, climatic, and geographic opportunities and challenges of their habitat, the English-speaking people found themselves preferring certain activities. Their language became a language of merchants, travelers, swift exploiters of opportunities. They stressed action rather than abstract thought, implicitness rather than explicitness. They accepted ambiguities in statements because they disappeared in action, a characteristic which made them give a particularly important place to verbs and prepositions. Now, almost any word can become a verb in English and convey more meaning in that form.

When exported to other habitats, such as what is today the United States and Australia, the English language acquired distinctive features causing people to speak of "the barrier of a common language," a reference to differentiated features of the English as spoken in Britain, Australia, and the United States.

Several factors influenced the cultures of these and other countries to prefer a modified English language to an entirely new language of their own. The English language is appropriate for activities connected with trade and technology; since "action" is basic to these activities, English supplied a very good instrument for communication. In the United States, which has developed an idiosyncratic culture centered on technology, the ease of adaptation of English was particularly welcome. Today, the whole world seems ready to adopt American English as the language of commercial and industrial transactions, simply because it makes such transactions easy; the dominance of English is not considered to symbolize dominance of one superpower.

The Spanish language developed in the Iberian peninsula soon after it was reconquered from the Moors barely five hundred years ago. Spanish conquest of parts of the American hemisphere introduced Spanish dialects to that hemisphere and, two hundred fifty years later gave them the codified language of the Spanish academy.

Unlike English, Spanish was not developed to meet the needs of trade and technology. The economy of Spain and its colonies has lagged behind that of the English-speaking world; in fact, it still does, not only because of geography and technology lag, but also because other components of life, for which they developed means of expression in their language, were more highly valued. Action is not the main preoccupation of Spanish-speaking people. Introspection is perceived as giving greater joys and satisfactions. Since each person lives "not for bread alone" and develops a personal philosophy of life, the language and themes handled give Spanish people the power to imagine, to procrastinate, to create fiction, and to realize themselves in fantasy rather than in reality. In that inner climate, Spanish cadences are stimuli that confirm and deepen the love for certain life styles. Through its oral tradition and literature the Spanish language encourages the perpetuation of certain attitudes which become fulfilled in the acts of living and which, in turn, perpetuate the language, its spirit, and its attributes.

Still, both Spanish and English have been created for use by ordinary folk to express the trivial and common as well as the exceptional. Nevertheless, their predilections, which clearly distinguish them, are evident in the expression of very different perceptions of what life is all about. The English "to expect," for example, is rendered in Spanish by "*tener illusión*," which illustrates two different "climates" or attitudes toward life. In Spanish, "to love" and "to want" are rendered by the one verb "*querer*," expressing a passion absent in both English words and in both notions taken separately. In Spanish, "*esperar*" may mean "to hope" or "to wait," as if the second could not be endured without the first.

The mode of thought implicit in the Spanish language can be characterized by the luxury of details that makes one linger with items contemplated, and makes one like long strings of adjectives and allusions to what might be present in a situation beyond what one perceives. What attracts in life is intensity, presence, passion, and a feeling that one is living, at whatever cost, in time or progress. In fact, the common use of the subjunctive, as the dominant mood, implies the suspected presence in all situations of something unforeseen and mysterious affecting their outcomes. From such a view of Spanish, one understands why the English word "mood" has been associated with all the verb tenses lumped together under the label of the subjunctive.

Ambiguity is tolerated by English-speaking people in the realm where action is decisive, but not by Spanish-speaking people, who require mention of all relevant facts to avoid intellectual confusion. For Spanish-speaking people, reference to examples does not have the appeal and significance that English-speaking people find in them. In fact, there seems to be no need for examples when an abstract statement is verbally coherent.

The English language is what I call a "spoken language," one in which the voice, via intonation, contributes a great deal to comprehension. It follows logically that written English molds itself on the spoken language, as can be seen in its use of punctuation. On the other hand, Spanish is a "written language," which conveys more shades of meaning through writing than through speaking. Note the peculiar use in Spanish of question marks and exclamation marks, announcing in the middle of a sentence the intention of questioning or commenting as if the voice alone could not do it. Also, note that Spanish entrusts to marked accents the shift of stress from typical usage.

Many details could be cited that illustrate how the modes of thoughts of the English- or Spanish-speaking people have affected their respective languages. Learning these languages well requires mastery of the modes of thought that have molded expression in those languages. Hence, we must consider how bilingualism helps in knowing a new kind of person capable of contrasting modes of thought that prove compatible when dwelling in one mind and, yet, are seemingly in sharp contrast when expressed in different societies.

Perhaps in some peoples' minds, the aim of bilingual-transcultural education is to enable people from outside the "mainstream" to adjust to the majority culture in the "host" country. But, we will identify what needs to be done in order to produce a transcultural population, a new contribution to this historical moment.

In this paper we give bilingualism another meaning. We take advantage of what can be revealed in a study of bilingual people in order to adequately establish goals for a bilingual-transcultural education. Our theory will then serve practice.

Values of True Bilingualism

Until now, we have focused our attention on the bilingual as a person. We have not emphasized the power of the bilingual; this power has often been minimized by those who choose to seek power through money or social position. Since the power of money and social position are powers outside oneself, they can be taken away. Moreover, when the mistake is made of stressing external sources of power, the consequence may be the feelings of unworthiness that so many bilinguals experience.

It is true that there are relatively few functioning bilinguals. It is also true that some bilinguals who are highly visible in the political scene have not made the effort required to become truly bilingual (i.e., in the sense of losing all trace of accent when using the second language, while maintaining proficiency in their first language). Their claims to powerful positions in the community at large are weakened by their maintenance of distinctive features in their speech, which lead others to think of them as alien to the culture in which they live.

Many bilingual people, however, have managed to function as natives in

both languages. These are people who can transcend the limiting effects of any single culture aided by their proficiency in two or more languages. This transcendence is compatible with mastery of the content of the culture(s) transcended, permitting a person to function "naturally" in those contexts which he has mastered. Having grown beyond a certain level of self-awareness, the bilingual person does not lose the power of living at the previous level but loses only the more limited perspective. Hence, the bilingual can relate to monolinguals in each group without identifying emotionally with either group, although accepted as one of them. Rather than producing "inferior natives" incapable of being at home in either group and in either language, a true bilingual education, which leads people to transcend what is limiting in each culture, will produce a new brand of citizen badly needed in our constantly more interdependent, shrinking world, our "global village." This transcultural leap should not be viewed simply as a technique for survival, but rather as a technique for achieving a richer self-awareness and increased ability to understand diverse cultures.

The world today needs people who spontaneously think and act as inhabitants of the "global village." True bilingual education, if effectively done, can produce such people more easily than can monolingual, national, or even sectarian education, which has produced too few such people in the past.

Bilingual education, as we have seen above, gives us the opportunity to realize new potentialities in ourselves. We not only master two languages as well as natives do, but we also achieve enhanced personal and interpersonal awareness. This enhanced, more competent self is constantly at work transcending the immediate and making choices in terms of a vision of the future.

Transcultural education has as its immediate concern the specific job of educating people who, in the near future, will have to deal routinely with men and women who have "inherited" specific languages and modes of thought that are unfamiliar to them. The bilingual person capable of understanding and appreciating different languages and modes of thought can serve those people impartially and adequately, utilizing their special competencies just as engineers do when invited to build dams or bridges.

Learning one new language after another, more easily each time, the multilingual person learns to appreciate each culture, considering them neither alien nor curious, but rather as the expression of a people who are communicating as naturally in their linguistic forms as we do in our own. Joyful savoring of that which is different becomes the real, truly interesting thing in life. As transcending beings, we strive to develop all the possible facets of ourselves; and we, in turn, can help others to become educated as "whole" human beings, the human beings of mankind rather than persons with limited vision.

Only education of awareness can develop such transcendence. Today, only among bilingual educators and transcultural educators do we find the necessary cultural background and interest for making explicit the means of attaining the wellsprings that will revolutionize education to meet the needs of the future. Since the necessary transformation of educators is an inner one — one of awareness — it will not be obtained solely by spending funds, which are becoming increasingly scarce. Exposing educators to the insights concerning what "education of awareness" entails and how easy it will be to make profound changes, once that awareness has been developed, may be the strategy we should follow. Reflection, dialogue, and involvement will develop needed insights and will convince educators that we can prepare for the future by our willingness to receive and use the insights gained by our students and ourselves in bilingual and transcultural education.

Summary

Our theory for bilingual and transcultural education can be summarized as follows:

Since it is probably impossible to recast traditional, monolingual education to produce true bilingual, transcultural education, we must look for the foundation of tomorrow's education somewhere other than in tradition. We can find this foundation in the premise that only awareness is educable in man and that the only true education is self-education.

Awareness of oneself as engaged in the production of the diverse sound systems of two languages — a demonstrated ability of bilingual people — constitutes evidence that the self controls mental functionings which, in turn, control somatic functions. This hierarchy is demonstrated in the phenomenon of two different linguistic stystems functioning in one person.

To help the learner progress from this awareness to the conviction that bilinguals are actually better adapted than monolingual persons to the needs of modern times, we may need the intervention of a well-prepared educator. This educator, who understands the process of transcendence, must help each student make contact with the "self at work through will and experience," and consequently to a study of what is to be gained from true bilingual and transcultural education.

Similarly, the capacity to live joyfully and purposefully, involved in two cultures that may appear very different, can be transformed into yet another awareness — that the self can transcend diverse forms while being able to accept and experience them.

A transcultural education is actualized when the individual concerned is not only at home in more than one culture, but also can find in himself the ability to learn from any person of any age and to enjoy shared experiences. When differences arise between people, instead of generating fears or doubts, they create an eagerness to know one another well.

A bilingual-transcultural educational theory proves itself by its applica-

tions to what goes on in schools and homes.

Epilogue

The theory presented in this paper allows us to see how bilinguals can become aware that they are capable of certain contributions outside the grasp of monolingualism. The theory, indeed, makes more precise what is meant by transcultural education.

Transcultural education means two things. First, it is the process that permits one to discover that one can be simultaneously of two cultures, can think and communicate in two languages, and can find oneself, when moving from one to the other, in a state that transcends both. Second, it is the totality of what one has achieved after using that process to the point where one can think and speak as a person at home in both cultures while spontaneously and freely mastering both languages. Awareness of that transcendence, based on true bilingualism, would be the chief purpose of transcultural education.

Gaining facility in this process of awareness is possible for all who open themselves to the experience since it is a basic aspect of human functioning. What is new here is that one does it in the universes of: (1) language (by being involved in using oneself as a bilingual speaker, moving freely from one language to another); and (2) culture (by finding oneself ready to adopt two modes of existence in two distinct cultures in which one can live with ease).

For this awareness of transcendence to exist, the moment when one shifts from one language or culture to the other is the experience on which one introspects. The act of examining this experience with all its distinctive features, and of contemplating it more leisurely is an important introspective exercise, one which has to be entertained frequently until the self learns to enter into it and to know its nature.

Transcultural education will not result from conditioning or from memorization, as is often suggested by those who are oriented to respect only overt behaviors. But, transcultural education may be the outcome of interaction with many people who have experienced awareness of what true bilingualism and multiculturalism means, especially the act of transcendence of specific cultures, as it is met when one communicates well in more than one language and feels at ease in more than one culture.

Living consciously involves increasing self-knowledge and the application of that knowledge in knowing better the three universes (of the self, of significant others, and of the world). The methods of transcultural education will lead some learners to cultural and spiritual transcendence. This outcome cannot be faked. Once reached, it does indeed provide one with a truly human experience that no specific culture and no one language can contain.

It is hoped that our theory not only suggests some next steps but also states the long-term goal with sufficient clarity to help us decide what we have to do and how we can best do it.

3

The Concept Of Culture: Is Transcultural Education Possible?

Young Pai
Van Cleve Morris

Transcultural education is not only possible but essential in a democratic, culturally diverse society.—Pai

We need to develop procedures of living, both individual and institutional, in which the richness of each cultural group can be made available to every other.—Morris

The Concepts of Symboling, Private Culture, and Syncretism In Relation To Transcultural Education[1]

RATHER THAN attempting to show why transcultural education is desirable and how it is possible, I wish simply to begin with the premise that transcultural education is not only possible but essential in a democratic, culturally diverse society. Having affirmed the feasibility and worthiness of transcultural education, I would like to suggest, as basic to a discussion of the "hows" and the "whats" of transcultural education, an examination of the concepts of symboling, private culture, and syncretism.[2]

Culture and Symboling

Culture may be defined as a system of shared technological, social, aesthetic, ideological, and attitudinal products of human learning; it consists of beliefs, cognitive styles, languages, tools, and other material and non-material achievements of a group of people. The terms "system" and "shared" suggest that various cultural elements are inter-related in their functions and that they have evolved from experiences shared by many generations of people. More importantly, culture is the product of our

[1]The first section of this paper is written by Young Pai; the second, on Transcultural Values, by Van Cleve Morris.

[2]For a more systematic elaboration of symboling, see White and Dillingham (1973). An insightful discussion of the concept of private culture is found in Goodenough (1963). Syncretism, though not a new concept, has been used more extensively by Henry Burger in many of his anthropological writings. See Burger (1973) for a helpful discussion of syncretism and education. A more technical treatment of this concept is found in Burger (1966).

symboling ability, which enables us to develop concepts (to assign meanings and significance to classes of objects, events, and acts) as well as to understand and appreciate such meanings.

The symboling process occurs not only in the large society, but also within its subunits, each with its own distinctive value orientations. These subunits may be social, political, intellectual, economic, religious, ethnic, sexual, or generational in nature. Meanings and values seem to be assigned to objects, events, and acts according to their evident potential for helping human beings meet the needs arising out of their physical environments and their associations with others. Objects and events, as well as modes of conduct and thinking, should not be regarded as having intrinsic significance apart from their appropriate cultural contexts.

The culture of a society represents the ways in which a group of people have organized their experiences to give them a world view, which provides them with a basis for (1) explaining their environments in cause-effect terms, (2) framing purposes, (3) distinguishing the desirable from the undesirable, and (4) formulating the means by which recurring problems are solved (Goodenough, 1963). The function of culture is not only to make life secure and meaningful but also to give man a sense of power and confidence (White, 1964). The culture to which one belongs, then, becomes the *root* of the individual's identity. Hence, to reject or demean a person's cultural heritage is to do psychological and moral violence to the dignity and worth of that individual.

In view of what has been said about symboling, we might conclude that all existing cultures "do their job." Established cultural patterns, however, are not necessarily the best possible means of meeting human needs. Ample evidence exists to suggest that some cultural practices (particularly in high-energy societies), while fulfilling immediate needs, often have long-term maladaptive consequences. The culture of a society that selects its means of problem solving chiefly in terms of their utility and immediate results is likely to become maladaptive, facing in the long run many complex and unsuspected problems. Similarly, a culture that copes with its problems in terms of a narrow range of alternatives because of ethnocentrism is likely to limit its own future. Hence, if a technologically complex and socio-culturally diverse society, such as ours, views minority cultures as unworthy variations from the "right way," it becomes less successful in resolving conflicts and satisfying the divergent needs of many ethnic components of the society. Such a society fails to make life secure let alone enriching, enduring, and democratic.

Private Culture

As every society has a culture, which is the product of shared human experience, so may we speak of each person as having his/her own private "culture," which may include awareness of several distinct "cultures" of other individuals. These cultural awarenesses within a person's private culture represent the individual's perceptions of how other human beings have organized their experiences based on the standards by which others perceive, predict, judge, and act (Goodenough, 1963). It is through our knowledge of the private cultures of our associates that we learn to ac-

complish those goals that are best achieved through working together. Hence, a person's private culture may include knowledge of several different language patterns, norms of conduct and valuation, and procedures for getting things done. Depending upon the nature of one's purpose and its context, the individual often moves from one set of cultural concepts to another within one's repertoire. For example, if this paper had been written for a sixth-grade audience, I would have used a different "language."

If a person operates rigidly in terms of a single culture (e.g., using "standard English" in a multi-ethnic community), he/she will be less effective in accomplishing one's purposes. This suggests that the greater one's breadth of cultural awareness and the more flexible a person is in shifting from one appropriate cultural context to another, the more successful that person will be in achieving desired outcomes. Frequent interethnic contact is important, for it tends to increase the number of other cultural orientations within the private culture of an individual (Goodenough, 1963).

Typically, a person uses only a limited number of cultural orientations in his/her repertoire. If the dominant culture is ethnocentric, the number of alternative cultural orientations that an individual could use would be limited to those the mainstream culture regards as legitimate. Minority children, for example, may be pressured, implicitly or explicitly, to reject their own language and use only "standard English." Rejection of their language patterns as low-status forms reinforces the negative image minority children have of their own culture and personal identity. One of the problems of assimilationism is that the more one assimilates, the more one crushes self-esteem and pride in one's own ethnicity. Assimilationism (arising from the ethnocentrism of the dominant group) not only robs richness from both the dominant and minority cultures but also increases alienation and socio-psychological conflicts.

Syncretism

If the goal of democratic education is to develop each individual's potential and to aid in building a social order that can make life secure and enriching for all, then neither assimilationism nor separatism is the answer. Notwithstanding the importance of minority cultures to many Americans, the norms of the dominant culture are likely to prevail in many activities of the larger society. It would indeed be unrealistic to suggest that minority groups ignore the dominant culture, but it is equally unreasonable to demand members of minority cultures to divest themselves of their own ethnic distinctiveness. What is needed is the preservation and enrichment of minority cultures as well as a reconciliation of these patterns with those of the dominant culture. However, the notion of "preservation and extension" should not be understood as a reactionary, "back-to-the-blanket" move (Burger, 1973); rather, it should be seen as a syncretic process (syncretism).

"Syncretism is the reconciliation of two or more cultural systems or elements, with the modification of both" (Burger, 1966, p. 103). This conception is not the same as the "melting" of distinctive cultures into one

allegedly superior one. Syncretism refers to the development of a new and unique culture (private or societal) and a new personal identity by interweaving different cultural elements together. For example, an Asian-American youth may discard the unquestioning obedience to elders and become more self-assertive, but may retain that part of Asian culture that encourages one to be less egocentric and think in terms of relationships to others. He/she is neither an Asian in America nor an imitator of the white American, but has emerged as a new Asian-American.

Transcultural Education

From our perspective, transcultural education should (1) promote better understanding and appreciation, rather than mere tolerance, of other cultures; (2) facilitate the development of the individual's ability to function in multicultural contexts; and (3) help the members of minority cultures construct unique private cultures of their own by combining the elements of various cultures in terms of what is meaningful to their personal identity, aspirations, and social reality. We must also move away from regarding a specific culture as having non-contextual or absolute worth. In both our schools and our communities, we need to stress the viewpoint that cultures provide different but legitimate ways of meeting similar needs. Hence, a culture should be appraised in terms of its ability to aid members of the society in becoming increasingly more effective in dealing with life's problems.

When the study of a culture is primarily concerned with describing so-called intriguing and exotic customs, such study tends to reinforce ethnocentrism. This type of approach rarely deals with basic questions about why these seemingly strange folkways and mores have developed and have been given special significance by each culture. Hence, it is essential to view cultures as results of symboling and to regard "strange" customs as functional ways in which human beings have learned to relate to their natural and man-made environments. But above all, transcultural education should encourage open-minded exploration of alternative and non-traditional life styles and should cultivate critical evaluation of already established cultural patterns.

Transcultural Values

We move now to the question of how transcultural education can become an effective reality. One of our first considerations must be to show how syncretism works, i.e., how do two or more cultures interact in such a way as to yield something "trans-", i.e., beyond each? If syncretism is the reconciliation of cultural patterns, how does this reconciliation occur?

The "Mutual Enrichment" Hypothesis

One contemporary cliché is what I call the "mutual enrichment" hypothesis. It goes something like this: The American people are made up of several cultural groups, literally drawn from all over the world. In this endowment of culture lies America's special uniqueness as a society. In considering how these many groups might relate to one another, we have tried a number of strategies: biculturalism, crossculturalism, multiculturalism. None of these strategies has seemed to be a perfect solution. We

don't want assimilation nor do we want separatism. We don't want the "melting pot"; even cultural pluralism doesn't satisfy. What we are after goes beyond all these. It is some mode of social phenomenology in which each of us as individuals can benefit from the cultural richness that this variety of lifestyles holds out for us, if we only knew how to grasp it. Hence, we need to develop procedures of living — both individual and institutional — in which the richness of each cultural group can be made available to every other.

Take the so-called "Black Experience." Being who and what I am, I have only the dimmest notion of what this really means. In order to be a fuller human being, I need to know and feel the pain, the agony, the exhilaration of this mode of experiencing. I'm not seeking merely the language, the literature, the music, or the food of this group, although these may help. I'm after the "gut feeling," the unique perspectives, the dreams and fantasies of this life. Somebody has to help me get inside this microcosm.

Or consider the cultural distinctions between the Anglo and the Latin. Being who and what I am, I have only the faintest conception of "the Latin mind" — how Latins think, what they think, and what their priorities and aspirations are. In order to expand as a person, how am I going to gain access to that world of the Spanish-speaking and the Spanish culture-experiencing individual? I learned the Castilian subjunctive in an Oberlin College Spanish class 35 years ago. It is one of the great syntactical outrages of the Western world. It didn't help. The inner cosmology of the Latin *persona* is still closed to me.

Or consider the "East is East" problem, the gulf between Asian and Western thought and conduct. My co-author, himself a "card carrying" Asian, tells us that an Asian-American youth, in discarding "the unquestioning obedience to elders," may "retain that part of Asian culture that encourages one to be less egocentric and think in terms of one's relationships to others." How can I, the apothesis of the self-centered Westerner, learn from this youth? How can I gain access to his consistent orientation of "thinking in terms of one's relationships to others," an experience sought not for his benefit, but for mine?

Finally, let's take the male-female dialectic — probably the last territory to yield to syncretism and reconciliation. Women liberationists do not typically emphasize how much men can learn from women. In my opinion, androgyny — the synthesis of desirable male and female traits — is not "selling well" on the talk-show circuit. Too many women in the movement want to become more like men. Making it in the male-dominated mainstream, if you don't mind my mixing metaphors, has become the new "Siren Song of the Seventies." When women become more like men, then we'll reconsider androgyny; but, of course, by then it may be too late. But all this is beside the point. I want to know how it feels to be a woman; I mean literally how it feels to be put down as "dumb about carburetors and spark plugs," how it feels to be regarded as a sex object and therefore judged chiefly in terms of attractiveness, how it feels to want to be president of a bank but not being promoted because you are too "valuable" as an assistant. As a representative male WASP, I've never learned how that feels. I think I'd be a more complete person if I did.

The Collision of Mores

But there's another side. Some cultural traits do not seem very attractive, especially outside the neighborhood. Blacks, Whites, Latins, Anglos, Asians, Westerners, women, and men all have some traits that others don't want to import. And as Professor Pai says, "to reject or demean a person's cultural heritage is to do psychological and moral violence to the dignity and the worth of that individual."

Just to keep the violence localized, let me confine my criticisms to my own set. Many Whites are global racists; they have shown a megalomania about "Manifest Destiny." Many Anglos are North-South racists; they want to lord it over everybody (and not "give away" the Panama Canal). Many Westerners devalue Asians; they scorn the serene, mystical qualities of the Orient; they are "go-getters" and, with their exhaust-belching machines, they are using up and polluting the entire planet. Many males are chauvinist pigs — insensitive, mean, vicious scramblers for glory, who use women like they use Kleenex.

The question is this: How are we going to engage in mutual enrichment without risking mutual pollution? And if we call it "pollution," which to each culture it is, will we hurt somebody's feelings?

The Search for Transcultural Values

So, you see, the "mutual enrichment" hypothesis can carry us just so far. Maybe our strategy should be to fasten onto a set of values that almost everyone could agree on and then work toward those values in our schools. Such a set of values could then be defended as "transcultural," almost in the literal sense of transcending cultures.

Over the centuries, we've had a number of "universal values" proposed. Plato and Aristotle thought that "the life of reason" was a value that no one could dispute. St. Thomas Aquinas suggested the Christian's God, with all His attributes. More recently, the Puritans advocated "hard work and discipline." Then the Victorians amended it to read "discipline and self-denial." Still more recently, Hugh Hefner and the counter-culture turned this around, asserting that sexual fulfillment and personal hedonism were all that mattered. "If it feels good, do it."

In our own heritage, Thomas Jefferson thought he finally had it with "Life, Liberty and Property," which he later changed to the more indefinite and therefore, more defensible "pursuit of happiness."

John Dewey, in the early twentieth century, contended that the central idea, the "meaning of man," was "Growth," yielding the ultimate value: "That which contributes to growth is good."

Throughout our recent history, we have reawakened interest in one of our founding principles, "Opportunity." Emma Lazarus, in her poem on the Statue of Liberty, has this great lady say:

> Send me your tired, your poor
> The wretched refuse of your teeming
> shore
> Send these, the tempest toss'd, to
> me
> I lift my lamp beside the Golden Door.

Now, if you put Jefferson and Lazarus together, you have "Equality of Opportunity," which possibly comes as close as anything in expressing the essence of our country's belief system. And if you have freedom, in a state of equal opportunity, you are likely to get growth.

However, as things actually turn out, there is a flaw in here somewhere. If free people are equal in opportunity, some of them are likely to grow more than others. Pretty soon, the strong get stronger and begin to limit the opportunities to those with less power — Blacks, Latins, Asians, and women. So we are back to our old difficulty. How are we going to arrive at a transcultural value that everybody endorses but which, when put into practice in the schools and elsewhere, will not turn out to be self-canceling?

I remember a professor of mine many years ago at Columbia University raising the interesting anthropological question: What is a good culture? If you design a culture from the ground up, so to speak, what would its prevailing ethic be? Although philosophers have argued this issue for a long time, my professor, Lyman Bryson, offered the following: A good culture is one in which the maximum number of citizens are able to realize its central values. Put another way, a culture is good in the degree to which it enables more and more of its citizens to actualize the core values of the culture.

Now, looked at critically, the United States might not measure up too well on this yardstick. We hold high the principle of equal opportunity, but we have created a culture in which that value is foreclosed to a large proportion of our citizens. By contrast, take Nepal. Here the central core principle is serene meditation and a communal worship of deity. No one is foreclosed from living a life dedicated to these ends. Thus, according to the Bryson formula, Nepal is a "better" society than the United States.

Transcultural Education

Professor Pai and I have deliberately left open the question of whether agreement can be reached on transcultural value. I myself may not espouse any of the candidates mentioned above. However, some dialogue with respect to core values will have to be undertaken if we intend to pursue an education that is vibrant and meaningful for all children.

We will have to develop a set of core values that all cultures can identify with. Moreover, they will have to be values that engender excitement and commitment, that arouse enthusiasm and effort; and finally, they will have to be values that can be demonstrated and lived out in our schools.

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Thematic Analysis, Personal Knowledge, And The Design Of Transcultural Education

David G. Winter

The task of transcultural curriculum is to help students become persons who select elements from their cultural heritage and their cultural milieu rather than being at the mercy of conflicting tides of cultural conflict.

FROM THE POINT of view of a personality psychologist, the task of a transcultural curriculum is to help students become persons who select elements from their cultural heritage and their cultural milieu rather than being at the mercy of conflicting tides of cultural conflict. Such persons will have a clear, steady sense of their own selves as identities that draw from all cultural resources but who, nevertheless, act and endure as distinct selves. These are *transcultural* persons not de-cultured persons. They will participate in their culture(s); they will not be bereft of culture. They will have *cultural options* based on clear conceptions of their heritage and of their milieu. They will be able to select, affirm, and maintain that heritage or to refashion it in their own ways. They will be able to borrow, or not to borrow, from their surroundings. They will be actors within two cultures, not victims of the contrasting pulls of cultural differences. Gattegno (1978), among others, has described transcultural persons in eloquent terms. As Hamblin (1978) has put it, these persons will, in their individuality, acknowledge and unify all the components of their identity, without suppression, delusion, or escape.

What contributions can a personality psychologist make toward designing the kind of curriculum that can further this transcultural ideal? I would like to summarize and discuss three lines of research in which I have been involved over the past fifteen years. Each of these — by itself, but especially when combined — has important implications for transcultural curriculum design; each can move us toward the goal outlined above.

To clarify the exposition, I shall first describe a process of transcultural personal growth that has three steps or stages. In connection with each stage, I shall discuss a related line of research. The first essential step is for students to develop skills of thematic analysis, i.e., to make complex, abstract distinctions in the area of cultural themes and imagery. In this connection, I shall discuss a new test that we have developed to measure how people form and articulate complex concepts. One of the virtues of this test is that learning how to do well on the test is essentially the same as learning the skill that the test measures, i.e., "cheating" in this instance actually involves learning. The second step is to apply these skills of thematic analysis directly to cultural materials. Here students become amateur "psychological anthropologists," utilizing the skills of precision and articulation developed at the first stage. In the final stage, the students take their own fantasies as the focus for objective thematic analysis, working out and articulating the ways in which their own themes (from their own lives and imaginations) relate to the contributions of their heritage and their surroundings. Through this culminating activity, students would obtain a series of answers to the question of "who they are," and they would know the origin of each answer in that series.

The principles embodied in each stage can, I believe, make a contribution to the design of a transcultural curriculum; but they are, after all, abstract principles that need to be elaborated and made concrete by curriculum planners and teachers. The rest of this paper will be an elaboration of the research relevant to each of the three stages as well as some discussion of how these principles relate to some emerging theories of transcultural education.

Thematic Analysis As A Test And As A Skill

First, I shall discuss the "Test of Thematic Analysis." For the past three years, I have been involved in a project designed to measure the cognitive and personality effects upon students who have had different kinds of college experiences (McClelland, Winter, and Stewart, 1977). We were trying to define in operational terms the claims of college educators that a liberal arts education increases students' abilities to think effectively, to communicate their thoughts, to make relevant judgments, and to discriminate among general principles. None of the published tests of concept formation seemed to be useful because these tests are concerned with simple concepts such as "red triangles versus blue circles." Therefore, we developed a new type of test, a "Test of Thematic Analysis," in which students are given two groups of brief, imaginative stories that come from quite different sources. (As will be seen below, many different kinds of material can be used for this test.) Students are then asked to formulate and write out the differences between the two groups of stories, using whatever terms and writing at whatever level they wish, noting themes, elements, features of styles, etc. that were present (or largely present) in one group of

stories and absent (or largely absent) in the other group. Notice that this test does not merely ask subjects to learn a concept from a series of specific examples and then to guess whether further examples belong to the concept, as is the case with most tests of concept formation. This test is an *operant* measure, in that it asks people to make up and articulate their own concepts, rather than a *respondent* measure that asks them to choose one alternative from a series provided by the test. Hence, in the "Test of Thematic Analysis," there is no "single best answer" known to the experimenter or teacher in advance. We developed a scoring system for this test by simply comparing the kinds of responses or concepts that liberal arts seniors write with the responses and concepts of liberal arts freshmen. Thus, the scoring system for this test is an empirically-derived one, based on the kinds of concept formation ability that seem to be increased by liberal arts education.

A brief discussion of the scoring system categories will illustrate how the test measures the general skill of complex concept formation.[1] Statements classifiable under the following six categories appeared more often among seniors than among freshmen in the group studied; hence, each occurrence is scored +1:[2]

1. Direct Compound Comparisons: a clear, distinct comparison between the two groups of stories is given by ascribing some element or feature to one group *and* either explicitly not ascribing it to the other group *or* explicitly ascribing a contrasting element or feature to the other group. Example: "Group A stories involve acceptance of authority, while Group B stories involve rejection of authority."

2. Exceptions and qualifications to a description are mentioned.

3. Examples are quoted or cited from the stories to illustrate some feature of the description.

4. Analytic hierarchy: some overarching, abstract issue is mentioned, which involves an explicit dichotomy, one element of which characterizes one group and the other element of which characterizes the other group. Example: "All stories involve relations to authority (issue); the contrast being between acceptance and rejection of it (dichotomy). Group A stories involve accepting authority, while Group B stories involve rejecting authority."

5. Redefinition: altering or redefining a descriptive category so as to broaden its coverage or applicability to the stories.

6. Subsuming alternatives: a descriptive category made up of disjunctive alternatives. Example: "Group A stories involve either timid acceptance of

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[1]This material is adapted from David G. Winter and David C. McClelland, "Thematic Analysis: An Empirically Derived Test of Complex Concept Formation." (Paper presented at Wesleyan College and Harvard University, 1976).

[2]This brief outline is not adequate for actual scoring purposes. A complete description of the scoring system, together with materials for learning and using it, is available from McBer and Company, 137 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

authority or active rejection of it, while Group B stories involve a middle course of guarded suspicion about authority or indifference to it." Statements classifiable under the following categories were present less often among seniors than freshmen and hence are scored −1:

7. "Apples and Oranges" comparisons, i.e., a comparison that is not really a comparison. Example: "Group A stories involve accepting authority while Group B stories involve sports."

8. Affect: the comparison is based on the reader's emotional reaction to the story rather than the story line itself. Example: "Group A stories are more interesting than Group B stories."

9. Subjective reaction: the comparison is based on the person's own reaction so that first person pronouns are used. Example: "I like Group A stories better than Group B stories."

Perhaps there would be agreement that these nine categories (six positively scored and three negatively scored) represent key aspects of clear analytic writing, critical thinking, and coherent analysis. Our research has shown that Thematic Analysis scores do increase more for those attending liberal arts colleges than for those attending vocationally-oriented institutions. When the effects of SAT scores are statistically controlled, Thematic Analysis scores show a significant relationship to both college grades and level of honors at graduation among the liberal arts college seniors.

For present purposes, the important feature of the "Test of Thematic Analysis" is that the nine categories of the scoring system can be explicitly taught, either by themselves or embedded in other courses. Thus, a student who produces a "relative" comparison ("Group A stories are more about authority than are Group B stories") can be taught to rephrase the comparison as a direct compound comparison ("Group A stories involve authority; Group B stories do not"). An "Apples and Oranges" comparison can be rephrased as two direct compound comparisons. Affective comparisons and subjective descriptions can be restated in objective terms. Students can be trained to look for subsuming alternatives, exceptions, qualifications, and so forth. In learning the scoring system, students would not only be learning how to score their own responses but also practicing the improvement of their conceptual abilities. Notice that the Thematic Analysis scoring categories are quite general. To many college teachers, they are the "something" that distinguishes (in clarity or coherence) one essay answer or paper from another that may display the same knowledge of facts. That is probably why test scores predict grades with ability controlled. Thus, we would expect that students who are taught how to score or grade their conceptual thinking will, if they care about doing well, show general improvement in their writing and performance.

Cultural Analysis

Thematic Analysis has been described as a generalized ability; while it might be a useful element in any liberal arts curriculum, the case for its

relevance to transcultural education remains to be made. Conceptual clarity is just as important in transcultural education as in any other kind of higher education (as illustrated in what Arciniega, 1978, calls the "scholastic" tradition and model in higher education). I believe that Thematic Analysis is appropriate for any of the four "approaches" to transcultural education described by Arciniega in another chapter of this book.

Comparison and contrast are inescapable facts of life, especially for the transcultural person; and transcultural education must begin with these facts. Culture comparison is the domain in which objective conceptual clarity is most needed. Transcultural persons must recognize and articulate the similarities and differences between cultures, i.e., between their inherited culture and the confusing, often oppressing, "majority" culture (which may seem both uncomfortable and attractive) in which they unavoidably live and work. Anyone who travels to, or lives in, another culture becomes an amateur psychological anthropologist, comparing other cultures or peoples to his/her own; the transcultural student is very much aware of cultural differences. Very often, however, we limit our formulations of these differences to subjective, affect-laden categories, e.g., our own culture is perceived as "exciting," "warm," and "familiar," while the other culture appears "strange," "cold," and "unsupportive." It may be inevitable that, when we deal with such emotionally deep issues as our own culture versus another culture, we concentrate on affective terms of comparison. Yet, according to the "Test of Thematic Analysis" scoring systems, these subjective categories are less developed or conceptually underdeveloped, i.e., more characteristic of freshmen than seniors. The person who views the dominant culture as *A Stranger in a Strange Land*,[3] is vulnerable to feelings of suspicion, alienation, and malaise. The student whose conceptual comparisons of cultures remain at this level has not achieved an optimum level of conceptualization — of his/her own culture, of the surrounding culture, or of the interaction between them.

Thus, in terms of the transcultural curriculum, the value of teaching Thematic Analysis is that students can sharpen and objectify their comparisons of the two cultures. The problem of instructional materials then arises. What materials should be used for teaching conceptual comparison of cultures? (That is, what is to replace the "Group A" and "Group B" stories used in the original "Test of Thematic Analysis" research?) There is certainly no shortage of materials. I think that a wise selection should be guided by two principles. First, the same agreed-upon sources should be used for each culture. In this way conceptual comparisons will be fair. Second, the materials should be imaginative as well as factual so that they will reflect the salient emotions and images of each culture. Several sources of material would fit these two constraints. One source would be stories

[3]This was the poignant title of the autobiography of Leonora R. Scholte, a nineteenth-century Dutch-American immigrant. (Published by Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1942).

from children's readers. These stories are likely to be laden with cultural values, for cultures are obliged to put across their core values in terms simple enough for a child to grasp. Other kinds of popular literature, including stories, songs, and novels provide useful supplements. Television programs should also be included. Even speeches given on political, commercial, or religious occasions would be valuable. McClelland (1961; 1963; 1964; 1975, Chapters 4-6) has repeatedly demonstrated how materials of this kind can be used to identify the themes of a culture. As he puts it:

Culture is a shared cognitive system. Members of the culture learn to operate in terms of this system quite unconsciously in much the same way as they learn to speak a language. Though they learn to speak the language correctly —that is, according to the implicit rules of the linguistic system — they may be quite unable to formulate those rules to describe them to an outsider. (1975, p. 123)

Banks (1978) and Crabtree (1978) suggest other types of materials that could be used, along with these collective cultural documents, as part of a transcultural curriculum in a compare-and-contrast framework. Such materials would constitute the two (or more) sets of data to be compared using the Thematic Analysis categories. This general approach could fit into a variety of specific humanities or social science courses.

What are the purposes of this training in thematic or conceptual comparison of cultures? At the knowledge level, this training should sharpen students' sense of the similarities and differences between their cultural heritage and their cultural surroundings. Currie (1978) argues that such a clear recognition of *differences* is an essential part of transcultural education. When students compare their own two cultures, they will do so with increased precision and clarity. With increased experience in comparative analysis, they should also become more aware of complexity: neither their birth culture nor the dominant, surrounding culture is a simple monolith. Each contains many *subcultures*, and each has its variant orientations as well as its dominant orientations, as clarified in the theory of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). Specifically, as students learn to use the scoring categories of "subsuming alternatives" and "analytic hierarchy" in analyzing cultural products, they should begin to see that different cultures do, in fact, constitute different solutions to common human problems. According to Morris and Pai (1978), "cultures provide different but legitimate ways of meeting similar needs" (p. 24).

I would expect another goal, latent and less obvious, to be realized by this training. Since the students have learned to use abstract, analytic tools to conceptualize their multicultural experience, they have already achieved a broader view that goes beyond specifics. Such a perspective is the first step toward their being in control of their cultural heritage and surroundings rather than its victims.

Personal Knowledge

In the final stage, students would extend their analytic skills to the products of their own fantasy and imagination. First, they would study samples of their own thought, by means of the categories of the "Thematic Apperception Test" or some similar approach. Then they would go on to conceptualize their cultural heritage, on the one hand, and themselves and their cultural surroundings, on the other. These analyses might go something like the following:[4]

I am like my cultural heritage in the following ways: A, B, C, . . . ; *but there are also differences. On issue* G *my own view or style seems to be* g_2, *while the emphasis of my heritage is more like* g_1. *On this issue I seem to have borrowed a little from my surrounding culture, which seems to be* g_3.

With a little more thought, the self-analysis might continue as follows:

Right now, though, I feel the greatest stress concerning issue C, *where I am congruent with my heritage but discrepant with my surroundings. There is pressure for change here. I don't want to change from* c_1 *to* c_2. *However,* c_3 *does seem to be a variant orientation that is viable within both cultures. But,* c_3 *may not be congruent with my present position on* G *which is* g_2.

I know that this example seems abstract, and it is purposely so. If I had used real themes (honor, success, competition, obligation, the well-lived life, nurturance, masculinity and femininity, humanity versus nature or in nature), the illustration would be more vivid. But the selection of values to be examined and compared is just what the students have to do. These dimensions cannot be specified in advance. This process of emerging personal knowledge is actually a statement, in formal and psychological terms, of what Morris and Pai (1978) call the reformulation and expansion of a person's repertoire of "private cultures." The present statement, however, does not necessarily entail all of the formal postulates and values implicit in syncretism.

To facilitate this self-analytic process, formal instruction in some of the recognized systems for coding fantasies (such as those used in research studies on the achievement, affiliation, and power motives) might be advisable. Ideally, however, the emphasis would be on the students' own conceptualizations of similarities and differences. Thus, their sense of control, of being an "origin" rather than a "pawn" (de Charms, 1968) is broadened to include their own minds as well as their own cultures.

This final stage, that of integrating personal fantasy and cultural themes, is closely related to an emerging technology of motivation development and training, as originally described by McClelland and Winter in *Motivating Economic Achievement* (1969), and later considerable broadened for wider purposes by Alschuler (1973); Alschuler, Tabor, and McIntyre

[4]This example is purposely phrased in abstract terms, to emphasize that this training involves the student's own generated concepts and is not merely a reiteration of familiar characterizations and stereotypes.

(1971); Boyatzis (1975); and de Charms (1972, 1976). All of these training programs are based on teaching people a variety of ways to study, systematically and objectively, their own thoughts and fantasies. The emerging patterns are then related to the person's actions and course of life, on the one hand, and to his/her culture, life situation, and ideal self-image, on the other.[5]

According to research findings, these training courses "work" — in the sense that participants show improved performance and report feeling better about their lives, their studies, and their work. The efficacy of this training — useful in the design of transcultural curriculum — rests on the premise that the systematic, objective study of one's own thoughts and fantasies enhances one's sense of being in control of those thoughts and fantasies. We can call this process *personal knowledge;* and with greater personal knowledge comes greater personal power and efficacy. As this sense of analytic control extends outward to include the themes and images (i.e., collective thoughts and fantasies) of their multicultural experience, students will be better able to fashion their own sense of congruence with, or mediation between, the cultures. This congruence between inner and outer selves is close to what Erik Erickson means by ego identity: literally, an identity between the inner self (what I feel I am) and the outer self (what my society and culture tell me I am) (Erickson, 1959). There will be a choice of many ways in which to achieve congruence and, therefore, ego identity: affirming, borrowing, and refashioning elements of one's cultural heritage and surroundings as well as redefinition and change of the inner self. The ultimate goal of this suggested emphasis in curriculum is a student who can and does make these choices for himself/herself.

Summary

In this paper we have discussed three areas of recent psychological research that, I believe, can contribute to the design of a transcultural curriculum. First, I believe that we can now measure and, therefore, teach the abstract skill of complex concept formation. There is evidence that liberal arts colleges have been doing this already, but a more direct and conscious approach to teaching conceptual clarity should improve the process and make it teachable in other educational contexts. Second, I believe that this conceptual skill can be taught from, and therefore applied to, materials that illustrate the contrasting themes and images of a multicultural situation. The materials are all around us, both in the great works of high culture and in the vast flow of popular cultural expression as well as in the more formal syllabus proposals of Banks (1978), Crabtree (1978), and L'Aventure (1978). Existing concepts, conclusions, and insights from anthropology and ethnic studies can be blended into this teaching to supple-

[5]See McClelland and Winter, 1969, Chapter 2, for a more formal statement of the assumptions and postulates of this training, as well as for several techniques and procedures by which these principles can be realized.

ment the students' own conceptual work. Finally, the conceptual skills can be extended to analyze the products of one's own thinking. This last approach could involve some of the materials and procedures developed by the emerging motivation-training movement (McClelland and Winter, 1969; Alschuler, Tabor, and McIntyre, 1971; and de Charms, 1976).

Obviously, these are only some principles which might prove useful in designing and developing a transcultural curriculum. Two of the basic components — the actual "Test of Thematic Analysis" and the motivation training materials — are readily available through professional sources and backed by a solid educational "technology,"[6] while the materials for cultural thematic analysis are all around us in great abundance. Of course it would be necessary to try out these principles before adapting them to the actual realities of education in a multicultural setting. What we have discussed here is really a series of elaborations, a way of making vivid and directly practical, a faith in the power of reason — the power of conceptual clarity and complexity — to set people free when they can use these powers for themselves, their heritage, and in their life situation.

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[6]These materials are available through McBer and Company, 137 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

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5

Teacher Preparation For A Pluralistic Society

Walter Currie

Although there is diversity in the people who make up our society, there has not been diversity in the power structure which controls the education that all children are compelled to take.

AT TRENT UNIVERSITY, I taught "Education and Native Peoples," a course that looked at the historical and contemporary relationships of the two while examining education in its broader context. During one phase of the course, we compared the cultures of Native and White children using various readings as the basis for our discussions. One reading, "The Environmental Factors in Socialization," gives the following comparison:

Native Child	White Child
Attitude Toward Child	
At age of mobility, child is considered a person and left relatively free to create and explore his own environment. He develops a sense of independence and autonomy. He has limited stimulation and feedback from adults.	Child is watched and controlled by parents and remains dependent on them throughout childhood. He is not autonomous and has little opportunity to become independent. He has constant interaction and feedback from adults around him.
Sanctions For Learning	
Child is permitted to do things which interest him when he is ready. Seldom is he rewarded or punished for specific learning attempts although he receives approval when he does the task correctly after trial-and-error learning. Time is not a factor; he can take all morning to get dressed if he needs it. If child attempts a task and can't complete it, he is not urged to stay with it.	Child is urged to try things which are considered appropriate for him to know, whether he has expressed interest or not. He is rewarded for trying, whether he learns the task or not. Time is a factor: "See how fast you can dress yourself." Emphasis is placed on trying and on completing tasks undertaken.

(Hawthorn, 1967)

Eventually, during the seminar discussion, questions such as these were raised:

"How does a teacher cope with children in the same room when they are of opposite cultural backgrounds?"

"What does a teacher do if he/she is of a background similar to the White child but teaches only Native children?"

"Doesn't the methodology and standards of teaching, as presented at Teacher's College, relate mostly to the right-hand column child and not to the child in the left-hand column?"

This paper attempts to answer these questions by examining the concept of pluralism, the determinants of school policy, the role of teachers, the child in a pluralistic society, teacher preparation, and some guidelines for teacher preparation to meet the needs of children in a pluralistic society.

Pluralism

What name should be given to this "new acceptance" of the many cultures of peoples in North America? Should it be "biculturalism," "multiculturalism," "pluralism," "cultural pluralism," "cultural mosaic," or some other term? Banks (1976) discusses the differences among these terms and why they need to be clearly understood in order to ensure sound research to develop effective educational policies and programs. Concentration on "culture," he contends, could submerge the existence of "racism" as an issue relevant to the educational needs of children from various ethnic groups, instead of bringing both race and culture to the fore. He recommends that, "ethnic and racial diversity is a much better concept than cultural pluralism or multicultural education . . . " (p. 36).

One principal, when asked how many Indian children were registered, replied that he didn't know; such identification was unimportant since they "treated all children alike." And yet, the school register indicated which children were Indian as the basis for collecting school fees from the federal government. Dare "educational equality" be colour blind?

Before we resolve this issue, let us challenge the "melting pot" concept:

— The peoples of this continent are of many colours, races, creeds, and national origins, living all about us, especially in urban ghettos, barrios, and on the reserves.
— We live in numerous, differing geographical environments.
— We live in various political structures: nations, states/provinces, counties, reserves, cities.
— The motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, (Out of Many, One) has included only those of the White race while excluding those whose skins are not white.

In 1971, Canada officially adopted a policy of "multiculturalism" as "a most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians" and "to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies." Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau said further, "For although there are two official

languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other." Implicit in this statement is emphasis on the developing Canadian and on his developing culture and life style. This policy bridges the different cultural communities and the historically important English and French groups (Munro, 1975).

Many are concerned that this policy may result in a mere dress-up, song-and-dance time with some ethnic foods tossed in. The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism responded to this concern in its first report (1975) by warning against "truncated multiculturalism confined to such aspects as folk dancing, embroidery on women's clothing, decorative arts such as Easter egg painting, instrumental music, or even folk songs." In other words, multiculturalism is to constitute an integral part of everyday Canadian life; this implies, *including incorporation of core elements into the educational process.*

In the same report, the Council raised the issue of ethnicity for its own sake, "Multiculturalism, [is] . . . the development of a consciousness of one's ancestral roots or ethnicity for creative purposes in the hope that a distinctive Canadian identity will emerge" (Munro, 1975). With regard to the latter, this writer, as a past member of that Council, recognizes the need for the native peoples of North America to reaffirm and re-establish our ethnicity for our own sake, strength, and pride and, in turn, for "a [more] distinctive Canadian identity" and a more distinctive North American identity.

For one person's view of pluralism, let us turn to the Annual Report of the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism, where an Ojibwa mother is quoted: "As a child, my mother told me that when picking flowers in the woods to make a bouquet, don't just pick the most beautiful, have some of each kind of flower to make up the bouquet. This is the way I feel about the Canadian cultural mosaic." She speaks of a bouquet that is more beautiful because of the diversity of the flowers, all of which add to the total beauty, and yet, each is beautiful in its own right. It is within the diversity of this bouquet of peoples of North America that we must learn to live because in many significant ways we are alike, yet in many significant ways we are different. *It is the differences which must be recognized and accepted instead of being ignored or rejected.* A diversity of colours, languages, values, attitudes, foods, clothing, to name a few, characterize the people around us. From that diversity come the teachers of our children; of that diversity are our children.

The Determinants of School Policy

Society, with its diverse peoples, determines " . . . that the school reflects the values of the society it serves, values expressed not only by parental or community attitudes toward learning behaviour but also by governmental policy on taxation, on housing, on urban development, and [on] racial relations." The attitudes of minorities toward education cannot

be disregarded by those who would teach or would suggest changes in education:

The Spanish speaking . . . often see themselves as the powerless victims of an educational system — run by a professional and political establishment which systematically excludes them from the process by which schools are governed, and from the decisions made about the education of their children. (Valverde, 1976, p. 346)

American Indians have little, if any, influence or control in the education of their children in the public schools. . . (B) The white power structure often thwarts Indian attempts to gain representation on school boards . . . (D) A strong feeling of powerlessness pervades Indian communities in regard to their attempts to improve the education provided in public schools. ("Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge," 1969, pp. 52-53)

Although there is diversity in the peoples who make up our society, there has not been diversity in the power structure which controls the education that all children are compelled to take.

According to Keppel (1969), " . . . we will have to accept the reality that changes in pedagogical tactics within the school's control have relatively little effect on social change or the creation of a new society. We, as educators, do not seem to have control over the important variables." If this is true, what recourse do schools and teachers have? Shall we bow to the inevitable and continue to develop "Pollyanna attitudes" in children who will face the same grim realities of dependency and powerlessness? In the preamble to the Code of Ethics of the National Education Association (1969), "We regard as essential . . . the protection of freedom to learn and to teach and the guarantee of equal educational opportunity for all." Are these mere words or do they have substance? If teachers, as Keppel's statement implies, serve as "change agents" only as directed, then teachers are only extensions and servants of the system, not co-determinants as befits a professionally responsible and respected group. Have we been misguided in believing that education is more powerful than it is? That, through education, society can be reordered? That social ills such as poverty, prejudice, unemployment, delinquency, and political corruption can be cured and prevented? That, through education, we will learn to behave in ways that respect everyone's present and future interests?

Can society change its expectations and demands of education to those which the system is capable of meeting? Or must we become revolutionaries, overthrow the system, and institute a new education? Illich (1971), for example, advocates "[creating] institutions which serve personal, creative, and autonomous interaction and the emergence of values which cannot be substantially controlled by technocrats."

The Role of Teachers

Is there "little social change or the creation of a new society" because

potential teachers from that diverse society are actually exponents of the life style of the middle class? Future teachers are upwardly mobile, fearful for their jobs if they don't conform to traditional methods of preparing children for the "good life." Shepard (1968) asks, " . . . how many teachers, usually the very personification of middle-class values, virtues, and vices, are inadvertently condescending in their attitudes and interpersonal relations with the children they teach and with the parents of these children?" (p. 81)

Regardless of the quality of the curriculum — the textbooks, the courses of study, the school plant, the equipment, the administration — the effectiveness of an educational system is determined by its teachers because it is they who teach the courses of study and serve as identification models. They are obligated to meet the standards of reading and mathematics established by the policy makers. One could cite innumerable references to the failure of teachers and the system to deal successfully with children of a different colour, race, creed, culture, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. According to a Senate report, "Teachers and administrators are often insensitive to Indian values and ignorant of Indian culture" ("Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge," 1969, p. 53). In analyzing the factors contributing to low achievement levels of Indian students, the report cites " . . . the inadequacy of the instruction offered them for overcoming their severe environmental handicaps . . . the teachers . . . lack the training necessary to teach pupils with the linguistic and economic disadvantages of the Indian child successfully" ("Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge," 1969, p. 62).

On the other hand,

In schools . . . highly approved by students, the teachers are well above average in their enthusiasm for teaching Indians, know more about the Indian community, have more contact with Indian students outside of school, rate higher on understanding and sympathy and show more favourable attitudes toward Indians than the average teachers . . . " (Fuchs, 1970)

How much of teacher ineffectiveness relates to the lack of successful models offered the culturally or racially different child? Grant uses the following statistics (from a 1975 report by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) to illustrate how schools have failed to recruit adequate numbers of minority-group teachers.

	Percent of School Population	
	Minority Students	**Minority Teachers**
Arizona	29.1	7.6
California	29.2	10.8
New Jersey	21.3	8.4
New York	26.6	5.6

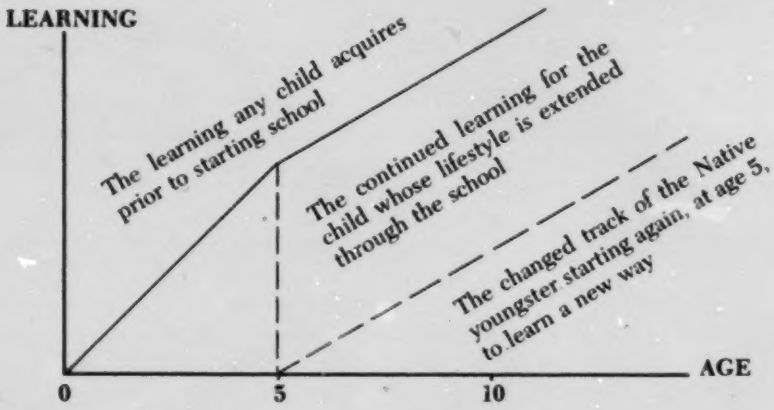
In Native communities, local people are used in the schools primarily as caretakers, bus drivers, and teacher-aides.

The Child In A Pluralistic Society

We emphasize the importance of meeting the child's needs, becoming aware of individual differences, and understanding that no two children are alike. We emphasize the need for starting with the child where he/she is and moving from the known to the unknown. These are all familiar and accepted phrases. But, do we realize their implications for instruction?

From birth to age five, each child has learned much from his/her own explorations and his/her family. The child then undergoes a wider range of experiences among peers, relatives, and neighbours. Not only has the child learned to crawl, walk, and run, but to feed and dress himself/herself, speak a language, and begin to live by values and attitudes acquired by observing others. The child comes to school with a very complex store of previous learnings. But will the child find adequate opportunities to continue this learning?

For the child who finds school to be an extension of the lifestyle and culture of his home, learning will usually continue with few problems and every chance of success. But, if the Native child arrives at a school programmed for children from the White society, the Native child's learning will be directed to another cultural track beginning at 0.5 . . . , (as noted on the following graph).


LEARNING
The learning any child acquires prior to starting school
The continued learning for the child whose lifestyle is extended through the school
The changed track of the Native youngster starting again, at age 5, to learn a new way
AGE
0
5
10

The child will receive a "Culture Shock," the full effects of which may not be identifiable for years. Students are required to learn another language and not use their own, to learn to be on time, recognize that tasks are measured by the clock, and to learn that almost everything is done differently in school than at home. The Native child has not continued to progress from his/her point of development, but has been retarded by being moved to a suddenly new setting where all the rules are changed.

The culturally-different child falls behind because he/she is "handicapped" by speaking a language other than English. The child's home and neighbourhood experiences have little relationship to those expected by the system because *the teacher is culturally unprepared.* Isn't it strange that the child at age six has to be ready to attend school, but the school does not have to be ready for the child?

Teacher Preparation

Now let us look at the process of teacher preparation, a process that has been guilty, more by omission than commission, of perpetuating the myth of the "typical American" in curriculum. The depiction in children's textbooks and films of the dress, manners, customs, and family roles typical of the middle class has helped destroy those cultures which are different (Dickeman, 1973). This is the process to which the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education addressed itself, when in May, 1970, a sub-committee recommended the establishment of a Commission on Multicultural Education to "Encourage member institutions to include in their teacher education programs components aimed at the understanding of the multicultural nature of American life and the strengths of this diversity." In February, 1971, the newly created Commission submitted this resolution, " . . . That AACTE and its member institutions . . . establish as one of its top priorities provisions for multicultural education."

This resolution was followed in November, 1972 by the Commission's "Statement on Multicultural Education," which reads, " . . . schools and colleges must assure that their total educational process and educational content reflect a commitment to cultural pluralism . . . [T]eachers and personnel must be prepared in an environment where the commitment to multicultural education is evident." The Commission also suggested that there be " . . . faculty and staff of multi-ethnic and multiracial character, a student body . . . representative of the culturally diverse nature of the community, . . . and a culturally pluralistic curriculum that accurately represents the diverse multicultural nature of American society" (Hunter, 1974). If these enlightenments had come decades ago, there would not have been such statements as those of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1887, "This language which is good enough for a white man or a black man ought to be good enough for the red man . . . [T]eaching an Indian youth in his own barbarous dialect is a positive detriment to him. The impractability, if not impossibility, of civilizing the Indians of this country in any other tongue than our own would seem obvious" (Moquin and Van Doren, 1973, p. 110).

Guidelines For Teacher Preparation In A Pluralistic Society

First, as indicated previously, there are several needs that should be acted upon:

1. "Educational equality" means to accept each child as an individual.
2. Multiculturalism is a fact; the melting-pot is an illusion.
3. Differences *and* similarities in children must be recognized and accepted.
4. "Schools" must do what they are capable of doing: helping young learners to think, not trying to cure society's ills.
5. Pluralism in society must be mirrored in the ranks of teachers.
6. The readiness of the school and of the teacher to receive the child as he/she is, is essential to the success of the child and of the educational programs.

Next, if the needs of children of "different cultures" and of "different races" are to be met; if the schools and colleges are committed to cultural pluralism; and if teachers are to be prepared to cope with their own "culture shock" for the benefit of all children, than what is to be done at the teacher preparation level?

1. Let those in teacher education practice what they preach, or at least make every effort to do so.
   a. If children are to be treated as individuals, why not the student-teacher? Professors should be expected to develop greater knowledge of, and contact with, individual teacher-education students. Since teachers are to care for their pupils, would it not be logical for the student-teacher to have experienced this "caring" to some degree in the teacher preparation courses at the universities?
   b. If the elementary school teacher is to work with a group of children over several hours and/or in various subject areas, why is this approach not illustrated in teacher education programs? Why couldn't professors work together in teams? For example, there might be three professors and one practicing teacher from the field working with a group of students in teacher-preparation areas, covering a wide range of theory and *practice*.
   c. Student-teachers are urged to use a variety of aides to help children learn; yet, professors lecture endlessly. The student-teacher is expected to stand before a class of children and communicate ideas verbally when that same student-teacher has been a passive learner with little opportunity to share in the planning of education courses or even to see the professor "practice what he preaches." In the book, *Schools and Equality*, the authors report that:

      The most significant difference between personnel is that teachers in low SES schools have lower scores on a measure of verbal facility . . . [a] standard deviation [of] about 1.5 raw score points. (Guthrie *et al.*, 1971, p. 47)

      Are not most culturally different children — the Chicanos, the Blacks, the Indians, the Appalachian poor — in the low socio-

economic schools? Do they not need good teachers?

d. Haubrich (1966) wrote, "One of these basic skills [lacking in teachers] is a fundamental knowledge of and an ability to begin a reading program within each classroom *no matter what the subject field*" (p. 366). Instead of blaming the classroom teacher, the press and the public should ask those at the teacher-preparation level why they aren't preparing teachers to help children learn to read.

e. In the Commission's statement concerning " . . . an environment where the commitment to multicultural education is evident," it is assumed that faculty involved in teacher preparation are also involved in the schools — consulting, supervising student-teachers, and conducting research. Their commitment to multiculturalism must be total if the student-teacher is to believe in the need for culturally and racially different children to have a chance.

2. Some guidelines for the teacher are: "a teacher tries to bridge the division between the races and to jettison the excess of time" (p. 29); "A Maori child should begin his reading from books of his own colour and culture" (p. 31); " . . . in judging Maori life . . . there is a Maori standard as well as a European one" (Ashton-Warner, 1963, p. 66).

In the following poem, Frances Brazil, of the Santa Fe Cultural School, captures the feelings of insecurity that often characterize the young Indian child.

Uncertain Admission

The sky looked down on me in aimless blues
The sun glares at me with a questioning light
The mountains tower over me with uncertain shadows
The trees sway in the bewildered breeze
The deer dance in perplexed rhythms
The ants crawl around me in untrusting circles
The birds soar above me with doubtful dips and dives
They all, in their own way, ask the question.
Who are you, who are you?
I have to admit to them, to myself,
I am an Indian

As Charnofsky (1971, p. 10) says, "There is growing evidence that the ability of children to be successful in our present American school system is predicated upon a healthy personal outlook and a relatively positive self-concept."

To be able to do those things Ashton-Warner suggests, to help children acquire a healthy personal outlook and a positive self-concept, and to counter the feelings of shame of being an Indian demands an atmosphere that says to the Native child, "It is good to be an Indian." To be able to create such an atmosphere for any child requires teachers to become

self-critical of their own cultures and values. Through the behavioural sciences (anthropology, sociology, cultural psychology), through experiences with other races and other cultures, and through the development of communication skills, this awareness can be acquired. In turn, the teacher can better accept and appreciate the differences among human beings.

A girl of the Adawa tribe asked me a question which is the gist of this paper: "Mr. Currie, can I get an education and still be an Adawa?" Does any sincere teacher dare answer anthing but "Yes"?

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6

Values In The Development Of Curriculum For Chicanos

Cecilia Cota-Robles Suárez

Certain values, societal and institutional, can be described as being in conflict with the Chicano learner and the Chicano community.

THE CHICANO population is the second largest minority in the United States. In the five southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, the Chicano is the largest minority (Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora, 1970). In these five states, there are two million Chicano children, ages three to eighteen. Fifty percent of the Chicano children entering first grade in the Southwest do not have basic competency in the English language (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1971a). Despite this, public school systems force the Chicano child to function in an English-speaking, European-American, middle class environment. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chicano student, in comparison to the Anglo and Black student, has the highest rate of: (1) school dropouts, (2) low reading achievement, (3) grade repetition, and (4) age-class level disparity (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1971b). Yet, in spite of massive federal and state funding in recent years, the schooling situation for the Chicano student has not changed for the better.

A great amount of literature can be found offering alternative solutions for the low academic achievement of the Chicano student. One major alternative is the development of curriculum specifically geared to the needs and interests of the Chicano student. Curriculum for the Chicano, however, has been developed without considering the Chicano life style, needs, cultural attributes, and language characteristics. Relevancy is now a hackneyed term made meaningless by its repeated use by educational scholars. If the curriculum is to relate in a positive manner to the Chicano

child, the curriculum writer must be involved with the language and/or dialect and culture of the Chicano. One of the weaknesses too often found in curriculum development for the Chicano student is that curriculum writers are versed in curriculum theory but have little or no knowledge of the Chicano experience. Therefore, they are unable to analyze this experience in order to utilize it in curriculum development. Another manner of developing curriculum is that scholars on the Chicano experience bring in curriculum writers to assist them. Curriculum development then becomes a process of putting together pieces as in a jigsaw puzzle. Needless to say, curriculum for the Chicano child has been ineffectual. The curriculum writer must not only have the necessary competencies to develop curriculum but must also have knowledge based on current data and a sensitivity to the Chicano language and/or dialect and culture. In order to better understand the process of development of curriculum for the Chicano student, this paper will address itself to one of the most significant and neglected aspects of education: values in the development of curriculum for the Chicano.

Theoretical Background

Curriculum is not developed in a vacuum. Many factors are involved in curriculum development. Values are one of the most significant of these elements. Values can be defined as the ideals of life that members of a given society regard as desirable. Goodlad and Richter (1966), in their model of a conceptual system for curriculum planning (commonly called the Goodlad Conceptual Model), determined that values were the starting point in curriculum development. The process of developing curriculum, according to Goodlad and Richter, begins with the sanctioning body of the school district (such as the school board) selecting values from a body of accepted values for curriculum writers to utilize. A value-free position is impossible. Goodlad and Richter suggested checking at all major decision-making levels of curriculum so that the ends and means are compatible with the values selected. Tyler (1949) proposed another design (termed the Tyler Rationale) regarding values in curriculum. Curriculum objectives, according to Tyler, should be screened in order to determine whether they are in harmony with the philosophy (or values) of the school and/or district.

This paper would like to extend the concept of values in curriculum development as presented by Goodlad and Richter, and by Tyler. Tyler suggested that in the curriculum development process, tentative objectives should be screened in order to determine whether they are in harmony. He recommended discarding objectives that conflict with values of the schools and/or school district.

Enlarging upon Tyler, and Goodlad and Richter, the developers of curriculum for the Chicano should review societal and institutional values and determine whether they conflict with values of the Chicano learner

and the Chicano community. In the event of conflict, it is the societal and institutional values of the dominant society that must be changed, modified, or discarded. Another approach is to institute new educational arrangements that utilize the values of the Chicano learner and the Chicano community.

Certain societal and institutional values of the dominant society can be described as being in conflict with those of the Chicano learner and the Chicano community. These attitudes and values are inconsistent with Chicano traditions and life style. These attitudes and values include: (1) racial prejudice, (2) stereotyping, (3) blaming the Chicano language and culture for the low academic achievement of Chicano students, (4) suppressing the language and culture of Chicanos, (5) lack of parental and community involvement in the decision-making of the school and school district, (6) under-representation of Chicanos in the public schools, (7) use of ability grouping, (8) inadequacy of the staff working with Chicano students, (9) irrelevancy of training of the staff working with Chicano students, and (10) monolingual/monocultural education. These ten values are in conflict with the values of Chicano learners and of the Chicano community. The public school system, by accepting and utilizing these conflicting values, is responsible for impeding the academic success of the Chicano student.

Therefore, in order to present a curriculum that meets the needs and interests of Chicano learners, these values need to be rejected or altered by curriculum writers.

Values in Curriculum That Conflict with Values of the Chicano Learner and the Chicano Community

Racial Prejudice

Prejudice can be defined as "a pattern of hostility in interpersonal relations which is directed against an entire group or against its individual members" (Ackerman and Jahoda, 1950, p. 4). Arter (1959) described prejudice as a set of attitudes that supported, caused, or justified discrimination. Racial or ethnic prejudice is an aversion to a group based upon faulty or inflexible generalizations (Allport, 1958). According to Allport, discrimination is the denial to persons or groups of persons the equal treatment they desire; it is the overt expression of prejudice.

Research on the development of race awareness in children has shown that they become aware of their racial characteristics and those of others as early as two and a half years of age (Clark and Clark, 1939; Stevenson and Stevenson, 1958; Goodman, 1966). Prejudice is social and cultural in origin. It is based on conformity to social norms. Clark (1969) emphasized that the development of racial prejudice reflected the child's family relationships, the type of community in which the child lived, the school the child attended, and the child's religious orientation. These forces are all interrelated.

The child . . . cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts, desires which are a

growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race (Clark, 1969, p. 23)

The child not only developed an awareness of racial differences and racial identity but also an awareness of the attitudes that prevail and the values accepted with race and skin color by the dominant society (Clark, 1969; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; and Goodman, 1966). Too quickly the child learned that white was to be desired and dark was to be regretted.

One of the fundamental reasons for racial discrimination has been found to be ethnocentrism — the belief in the uniqueness and righteousness of a group (Simpson and Yinger, 1965). Ethnocentrism, according to Simpson and Yinger, is an expression of the powerful ruling class' attitude toward other groups as inferior. Another cause of racial discrimination has been economic exploitation (McWilliams, 1964; Memmi, 1965; Muñoz, 1974; Almaguer, 1974). McWilliams (1964) explained, "The American race problem . . . in the last analysis, is a problem involving the exploitation of labor" (p. 339). According to Almaguer (1974), racial domination in the American continent was first implemented when the Europeans started colonizing the American continent. It was the Spaniards who institutionalized a racial hierarchy in Mexico. According to Almaguer (1975), after the Anglo-American conquest of the Southwest, Chicanos were oppressed in a colonial system within their traditional lands. This type of oppression has been termed "internal colonization." Blauner (1972) pointed out that privilege is the basis for racial oppression. The racist restrictions imposed on the people of color in the Americas offered a system of privileges only for the white Euro-American, according to Blauner. For instance, white Euro-Americans have long enjoyed privileges denied to Chicanos — better housing, quality education, higher income, and more stable living conditions. Blauner concludes that within this racial order, the politically powerful group (the white Euro-American) has exploited, controlled, and oppressed the other groups. Memmi (1965) emphasized that another element is imposed on persons living under colonized conditions — the lack of freedom of choice between being colonized and not being colonized.

Long ago, racial prejudice and discrimination were institutionalized in the educational system of this country. Racism has been a basic element in the American school (Katz, 1975; Clark, 1969; Bowles, 1972). Katz, in a historical account of American education, claimed that by the late nineteenth century, American education was universal, tax-supported, free, compulsory, class-biased, and racist. Education enabled the affluent to remain rich. Bowles (1972) found that the schools had not been responsive to the learner but rather to the economic structure. According to Bowles, schooling has been a socialization process for children's entrance into the same level of society as their parents'. For instance, schooling in low income areas prepared children to work in factories by stressing punctuality, discipline, conformity to authority outside the home, and responsibility for one's work. Obedience and punctuality were stressed even more, according to Bowles, as manufacturing became more complicated. Today's educational systems have these deeply-rooted values, which include racial prejudice and discrimination. Public education can be de-

scribed as a vehicle for sorting minority and low income children into a lower socio-economic status.

It is recommended that in the development of curriculum, racial prejudice should be eliminated and that the Chicano student, parents, and the community be treated as equal members of society.

The following will be a discussion of other values held by the dominant society that are in conflict with the values of the Chicano learner and the Chicano community. These values will be described in a more concise manner than racial prejudice, which is the most significant value held by the dominant society and its institutions.

Stereotyping

Stereotyping has been a way of reinforcing racial biases (Allport, 1958). Stereotyping of the Chicano has included: (1) stereotyping in contemporary and historical literature, (2) stereotyping in the media, and (3) stereotyping in social literature. Weber (1974) traced stereotypes of the Chicano to the 1850's: The Chicano depicted as "lazy, bigoted, superstitious, cheating, thieving, gambling, cruel, sinister, cowardly" (p. 18). Acuña (1972) contended that Anglo stereotypes of Chicanos were perpetuated by inaccurate historical analysis. Romano (1968) proposed that the distorted and stereotyped depiction of the Chicano tended to deny the actual historical importance of the Chicano. Rendón (1971) criticized the media for the depiction of the Chicano as fat, and usually a bandit who speaks with either an exaggerated Spanish accent or in broken English. Martinez (1971) asserted that the media depicted Chicanos as inferior. He found that television commercials tended to portray the Chicano as lazy, comical, irresponsible, and thieving. Suárez (1973) stated that social science literature depicted the Chicana as an inadequate mother, masochistic, submissive, and less intelligent than the male.

In view of the above, it is evident that stereotyping of the Chicano must not be perpetuated by the media, historians, social scientists, nor by curriculum writers. Culturally sensitive and knowledgeable curriculum writers must avoid the inaccurate and unjust portrayal of Chicanos.

The stereotyping of the Chicano must not be utilized in the curriculum developing process. This value must be eliminated.

Blaming the Chicano Language and Culture for the Low Academic Achievement of Chicano Students

The third value to be discussed is blaming the Chicano language and/or dialect and culture for the low academic achievement of the Chicano student. Vaca (1970) claimed that for over thirty years social scientists have designated the Chicano language and culture as the major cause for the low academic achievement of the Chicano student. The following are characteristics of the Chicano language and culture that supposedly hinder success in school: (1) the Chicano culture as a folk culture (Burma, 1954; Manuel, 1965), (2) the Chicano family as patriarchal and authoritarian (Heller, 1966; Rubel, 1966; Clark, 1970; Madsen, 1964), (3) the Chicano family socialization process as not stressing values of the dominant culture (Heller, 1966; Madsen, 1964), and (4) machismo (Heller, 1966; Madsen, 1964).

Other cultural traits cited by social scientists as blocking the academic success of the Chicano learner are: (1) orientation to the present, (2) inability to accept change, (3) rejection of the Protestant work ethic, (4) submission to the status quo, (5) possession of non-scientific attitudes, (6) failure to value education, (7) fatalism, and (8) speaking a deficient language. Vaca (1970) claimed that blaming the Chicano language and culture for the poor academic performance of the student absolved the dominant society of its responsibility to change the educational system. The blaming of the Chicano for the poor showing in school is in keeping with the concept that to succeed in the public school system, the Chicano must fit the English-speaking, middle class Euro-American mold. This value should be discarded by curriculum writers.

The language and culture of the Chicano should not be depicted as the cause of the poor academic achievement of the Chicano student. The language and/or dialect and culture of the Chicano should be depicted as positive, rich, and constantly growing.

Suppressing the Language and Culture of Chicanos

Policy in the American school system has long mandated the suppression of the Spanish language (Steiner, 1970; Sanchez, 1966; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1972). Suppression in the public schools has included not only simple discouragement of students speaking in Spanish but also corporal punishment (Steiner, 1970; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1972). Sanchez (1966) claimed that the public schools have not considered knowledge of Spanish an asset but rather a handicap. The language of the Chicano child should permeate all aspects of the student's educational environment and should not be discouraged by the schools.

The language of the Chicano child is an asset and should be utilized in all areas of the educational program.

The Chicano culture has been described as having been excluded in the schools (Cortés, 1974; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1972). School and classroom activities have not utilized Chicano culture other than to reinforce negative depictions of Chicanos. Cortés claimed that the educational system utilized programs that enhanced the Euro-American way of life, while relegating Chicano culture to an inferior position. Instructional materials depicting the Chicano have been determined to be both racist and sexist (Gurule, 1973; McCurdy, 1974). In California, community groups have protested to the California State Board of Education's approval of books that depicted minorities and women negatively.

Chicano culture should be utilized in all aspects of the curriculum. The school and the instructional setting should include depictions of Chicano culture and experience in a realistic and positive manner.

Chicano culture should be presented in the program in a positive manner and should permeate the entire program.

Lack of Parental and Community Involvement in the Decision-Making of the School and School District

The Chicano community and parents have not been involved in decisions regarding their educational programs. Despite guidelines that man-

date this input, the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1974) found that decision-making by the Chicano community and parents was not only discouraged but not allowed without the approval of the district administration. Since 1968, numerous community protests and confrontations with the public schools have occurred. According to Muñoz (1971) the Chicano community still has yet to be involved in making decisions regarding the schooling of its children. Active community and parental involvement is one vehicle by which Chicanos can be part of the decision-making process in education. Schools should encourage parents and community members to become actively involved in school affairs, especially in decision-making involved in curriculum development.

Active community and parental involvement in decision-making regarding education and, specifically curriculum development, should be encouraged by schools and districts.

Under-Representation of Chicanos in the Public Schools

Chicanos have been found to be under-represented in all levels of the public schools, with the exception of custodial and teacher-aide positions. The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1971a) study of the schools in the Southwest indicated that the Chicanos were not represented in staff positions in proportion to the overall Chicano population. Of approximately 325,000 teachers in the public schools of the Southwest, only 12,000 (4 percent) were Chicanos. In California, where 14 percent of the student population was Chicano, only 2 percent of the professional teaching staff were Chicanos. Of the total administrative staff, Chicanos comprised 6 percent of the school level and 7 percent at the district level. Non-professional staff, such as secretaries and custodians, had the highest representation (custodians represented 30 percent and secretaries 10 percent of the district employees). Teacher-aides comprised 33.9 percent of the total, but these positions are dependent on the annual refunding of special state and federal programs.

According to these statistics, it is clear that Chicanos are under-represented in both administrative and professional teaching staff positions at school and district levels.

Chicanos should be represented in all positions at the school and district levels in proportion to the Chicano population.

Use of Ability Grouping

The public school system, through its use of ability grouping, has perpetuated a caste system in which children of low income status leave school prepared to enter the low income levels of their parents (Carter, 1970). This type of grouping is a sorting mechanism in which the Chicano is unfairly treated. Ability grouping consists of either tracking or grouping. Grouping involves the temporary placement of children by ability or interest in the classroom. Tracking is the grouping of the entire school by interests, ability, and/or age.

Both grouping and tracking have been criticized as being discriminatory against the Chicano because middle-class oriented, English-speaking

standardized tests were used as a criteria for the placement of students (Carter, 1970; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1974). As early as 1934, standardized tests were strongly criticized as biased against the Chicano (Sanchez, 1934). García (1972) contended that Chicanos scored lower than Euro-Americans on IQ tests because the tests were composed primarily of Euro-American oriented items. Because tests, such as the Stanford-Binet, measure aspects of the school curriculum that have been designated as significant by school administrators, these tests are not considered relevant to the Chicano experience. Mercer (1972) studied intelligence test scores, adaptive behavior measures, and socio-cultural variables of Chicanos, Blacks, and Euro-Americans with IQ scores of 85 and below. She found that Euro-Americans scored within the lowest 3 percent on the adaptive behavior scale, while 60 percent of Chicanos and 91 percent of Blacks passed the adaptive behavior test. She also found that Chicanos and Blacks, in this supposed low IQ range, could function well in society while Euro-Americans were not able to. Mercer concluded that the standardized IQ tests were culturally biased and favored the experiences of the middle class Euro-American. "The more 'Anglicized' a non-Anglo child is, the better he does on the IQ test" (p. 95). Because of inadequate testing and other variables, such as teacher bias, tracking systems usually assign the Chicano students to low ability groups (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1974). One in three Chicano students was tracked into low ability groups, whereas only one in seven Euro-American students was similarly assigned. In forming ability groups, schools and teachers should not use biased tests as criteria for placement. Other criteria should be utilized, such as non-biased observations, non-biased testing, non-biased questionnaires, and/or interest inventories.

The Chicano student should not be tracked or grouped, if criteria for grouping or tracking involves biased tests.

Inadequacy of the Staff Working With Chicano Students

Districts throughout the Southwest have reported the need for bilingual staff (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1972). Lack of qualified staff is one of the main constraints in presenting a quality program for the Chicano student (Carter, 1973; Rodriguez, 1970).

For instance, parents have indicated a concern for quality teachers in Chicano areas. A recent lawsuit by parents of students in the East Los Angeles schools claimed that once teachers are experienced, they leave for suburban areas (*Los Angeles Times*, December 14, 1973). The parents accused the school district of using barrio schools for training inexperienced teachers.

Carter (1970) pointed out that teachers who taught Chicano children were weak in two areas: (1) the ability to utilize the science of teaching, and (2) the understanding of the importance of the Chicano culture in education. In the area of teaching skills, he contended that too many teachers could not: (1) utilize modern techniques in the teaching of English to non-English speaking children, (2) diagnose or teach students needing remedial work, (3) speak Spanish, or (4) interpret results of standardized tests when taken by minority children.

The most severe complaint regarding staff working with the Chicano student was the inability to relate linguistically and culturally to the student. It is considered essential that the teachers of Chicano students have the following competencies: (1) ability to implement positive Chicano home-community-school relations, (2) proficiency in the language and/or dialect of Chicanos, (3) sensitivity and ability to implement the Indo-Hispanic Chicano culture in the classroom, and (4) instructional strategies that meet the needs and interests of Chicano students. Furthermore, the teacher should have a basic knowledge and understanding of the following: (1) educational theories and philosophies, (2) curriculum and instruction, (3) program implementation, (4) development of instructional materials, and (5) evaluation.

All staff, in the educational program offered to the Chicano student, should relate linguistically and culturally in a positive manner to the student. The teacher, being the most important element in the teaching-learning act, should be able to implement an educational program that is linguistically and culturally relevant to the Chicano student.

Irrelevancy of Training of the Staff Working With Chicano Students

Training, both pre-service and in-service can be described as totally inadequate for staff working with Chicano students. A recent study found that college and university teacher-training programs have not prepared teachers to teach Chicano children (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1974). This study indicated that teacher-training institutions in the Southwest lacked the following: (1) Chicano faculty, (2) course requirements in the language and culture of the Chicano, (3) methods courses stressing the teaching of Chicano children, and (4) student teaching assignments in Chicano areas. The study also indicated that the few course materials offered to teacher-candidates tended to be paternalistic and negative. Training, both in school districts and in teacher-training institutions, has been described as stressing: (1) the role of the teacher as one maintaining the status quo, not one making changes; (2) the elimination of the supposed negative self-image of Chicano children by means of interventionist strategies; and (3) the Euro-American, English-speaking, middle-class culture (Macías, Webb Macías, de la Torre, and Vasquez, 1975). Teacher training, both in-service and pre-service, should instruct the teacher and the support staff in the latest and best methods of working with Chicano students. The training should be offered from a positive perspective on the Chicano language and/or dialect and culture.

Staff training, pre-service and in-service, should be appropriate to meeting the needs and interests of the Chicano student.

Monolingual/Monocultural Education

The use of one language (English) and one culture (the Euro-American middle-class) has been the standard practice in public school systems. Bilingual-bicultural education has been recommended by leading scholars in the field of education of the Chicano child. Gaarder (1967) pointed out that bilingual-bicultural education would: (1) contribute to better home-school-community relationships, (2) conserve our national cultural re-

sources, and (3) enhance the Chicano child's self-image and career potential. Bilingual-bicultural education can improve the child's cognitive skills in Spanish and English while contributing to the concept of cultural pluralism in our society. The Chicano's language and/or dialect and culture should be part of the entire school program not just one segment of it. In presenting the language and/or dialect and culture of the Chicano, the learner and the local community should be surveyed to determine the type of language and/or dialect and culture that the student and community utilize and relate to. For instance, Castilian Spanish of the Royal Spanish Academy is not usually used by students in the barrio. Therefore, it would be irrelevant to the Chicano's educational setting. The curriculum writer should determine whether the learner relates to the Chicano, Mexican, or Euro-American culture. This cannot be done merely by speculation but must instead be done by going out to the community and surveying it. If the survey finds the learner utilizing a dialect, this should not be determined as inferior by the curriculum writers but should be considered a preferred and legitimate linguistic pattern of the learner and the community. Bilingual-bicultural education is the use of both languages and/or dialects in the educational setting. The ultimate objectives are that the Chicano student should feel at ease in and function well in both cultures and languages — that of the Chicano and of the mainstream.

Bilingual-bicultural education should be provided for the Chicano rather than the monolingual/monocultural models now prevalent.

Conclusion

We have now come full circle. At the beginning of this paper, values were presented as one of the most significant factors in curriculum development. A screening of the values of society and institutions is necessary. These values should be screened in order to determine whether they are in conflict with values of Chicano learners and of the Chicano community. If societal and institutional values are in conflict with values of the Chicano community, they should be modified or discarded. The modified values should be in harmony with the values of Chicano learners and of the Chicano community.

The values presented in this paper were formulated to significantly affect the education of the Chicano student. Recommendations were made for altering, adapting, or eliminating certain societal and institutional values. This paper has emphasized that curriculum cannot be developed without the acceptance of and the ability to utilize the values of the Chicano learner and the community. Consideration of these values needs to be the priority in the curriculum development process. If this is done, a positive solution to the education of the Chicano learner and the community will be instituted.

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7

The Interactive Role Of Higher Education Institutions In The Transcultural Education Movement

Tomás A. Arciniega

Universities and colleges must undergo internal changes, even as they interact with school districts in organizing bilingual and crosscultural programs in the schools.

INVOLVING universities and colleges in the initiation and development of the thrust toward pluralism is centrally important for a number of reasons. Recognizing the direct link between higher education and the social structure is an essential first step in mounting successful strategies for change. But, even as we recognize that linkage, we also need to focus on the institutional framework of universities and the implications of that structure for mounting the proposed reforms. And finally, since the reforms concerned with here are aimed at public school systems, it will be necessary to initiate change on two levels. Reform efforts will need to simultaneously address the organizational structure of the university involved and the constraints perceived in the target school system. In my comments, I shall discuss the interactive nature of these concerns as well as their implications for what has to change and why.

Macro-Functions of Higher Education

Access to higher education is a crucial determinant of individuals in the United States. Universities today are prime social mechanisms for determining who will occupy the upper-middle and upper rungs of society (Karabel, 1972). As unpleasant as the thought may be for some, universities must accept the fact that they have become primary dispensaries of privilege and status. This allocation of privilege and the implications it has in policy-making is often intentionally overlooked and played down. At best, it is slighted in discussions of the role of higher education in society. It must become, however, central to any discussion that purports to deal with the reform of education in the United States.

Viewed from a global perspective, the educational system (with higher education at the apex) plays a three-dimensional role in the modern state: (1) it prepares human resources needed by the economic structure, (2) it is directly responsible for imparting national, social, and cultural ideals, and (3) it promotes a generalized acceptance of the legal governmental structure of society among the people. Preparation of high-level personnel to fill key roles in the economic sub-system of the nation is perhaps the most obvious of the functions performed by schools and universities as socializing agencies. These functions develop means by which a nation insures a common set of values and norms and the acceptance of its national authority and decision-making structure. A nation has to assure this commonality in order to allocate and utilize national resources as the country progresses and develops.

American universities have traditionally emphasized teaching and research which date back to the tiny nucleus of colonial colleges modeled after elitist European institutions. Higher education's commitment to what became labeled "the service to society dimension" originated in the 1800's with the rise of land-grant colleges dedicated to community service and vocational preparation. Higher education institutions quickly recognized the importance of being responsive to the needs of the communities they served, and in so doing, they deviated sharply from their European counterparts. Thus, from elitist beginnings, the United States university system has evolved into the largest and most accessible system in the world (Karabel, 1972; Commager, 1966).

The resultant rate of growth in higher education has been phenomenal. From 1900 to 1970, the percentage of youth, 18 to 21 years old, enrolled in college increased from 4 to 40 percent (The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1970). In California today, almost 60 percent of college-age youth are enrolled. However, this phenomenal rate of national expansion in college student enrollment has not been accompanied by corresponding increases among Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. Since the macro-functions of education represent the normative attitudinal structures of society, efforts to press for reforms must address, and be linked to, these conventional yet crucial structures. To put it less pejoratively, this implicit sorting function of education is part of the public consensus regarding the role and responsibilities of public educational institutions.

Let us turn attention now to the imparting of national, social, and cultural ideals. In promoting pluralistic approaches and rejecting assimilationist paradigms in education, it is important to recognize that what is involved is a shift in emphasis not the assumption of an entirely new national responsibility. In so doing, we can identify our normative allies and press for a generalized acceptance of statements like that of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, entitled "No One

Model American: A Statement on Multicultural Education" (1973):

Multicultural education is education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major education institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism.

This approach makes sense. It is a less formidable task to work for than to insist on completely radical changes.

The Scholastic And Service Traditions In Higher Education

Historically, debates over the role of higher education have usually polarized into two conceptual points of view. The first, McGrath has labeled the "scholastic" view (McGrath, 1966). According to this view, universities exist to educate that small elite who will make the major decisions for the greater society. The principal task of higher education, then, is to cultivate the abilities of this elite:

All civilised countries . . . [must] depend upon a thin clear stream of excellence to provide new ideas, new techniques, and the statesmenlike treatment of complex social and political problems . . . The highly gifted student . . . needs to be treated as elite. (Ashby, 1971, pp. 101-102)

Regarding the focus of university curriculum, according to the scholastic view: The formation is accomplished through study of society. Two forms of learning are required (for the elite) in this society. The form of organization must be understood . . . And it is also necessary (for this group) to acquire the knowledge and skills which the society requires for successful operation.

For traditional agrarian societies, proponents of this view would limit education to that one percent of the population who would manage the affairs of state. In more modern societies, this view would allow for expansion to include training in the professions of medicine, engineering, and the like. And finally, in the "post-modern" or industrialized stage, proponents of this view point out:

This group was enlarged until, in our time, it embraces . . . about 5 percent of the population. The broadening has had cumulative consequences. The need for selection meant that the privilege of higher education could no longer be limited to a hereditary class but had to be offered, at least as an opportunity, to other classes. (McGrath, 1966, p. ix)

The expansion of higher education has been justified because, in order to select a small elite, it was necessary to begin with some 30 percent of the

population. This meant that university education had to be opened to middle-class students.

According to scholasticists, higher education has expanded sufficiently; any further growth in enrollment will depreciate the value of a university degree. In fact, many contend that any further expansion of higher education to students from the working class constitutes a serious threat to the qualitative standards of this society.

In contrast, the "service to society" viewpoint insists that universities exist primarily to serve society as a whole. Advocates of this view contend that modern universities must become dynamic instrumentalists for change. Universities are obligated to provide increased opportunities for greater numbers of students, particularly minority students.

Although universities must continue to address traditional teaching and research needs, they must look upon the support of higher education as a social investment. In this sense, higher education needs to become an instrument for change, intervening to provide equity and social justice to those who, in large part, have been denied this right in the past.

For the individual it [this view] offers opportunity to move as far intellectually as his abilities will take him; for the society it undertakes to supply any type of trained individual required.

[It] opens education to any who can reach it, and in the process of supplying the diversity of education society may require, it affirms a great range of choices to the individual. (McGrath, 1966, p. ix)

The expansion of higher education along these lines needs to be closely linked to corresponding shifts in the nation's work structure as well as keyed to social and service sector demands.

Although grossly oversimplified, these are the basic positions usually posed in "scholastic" versus "service to society" discussions. These basic conceptual differences, about the purpose and the role of higher education in modern society, have important implications. They relate directly to core issues involved in promoting reform in higher education. They also indicate clearly that proposals for change can be linked to previous, continuing efforts to make institutions more responsive to minority needs. We can ally with an important, accepted tradition in higher education in our efforts to promote multicultural approaches.

In order to effect the changes necessary to organize viable programs for the training of teachers and specialists in transcultural education, we must focus our efforts on two levels. Universities and colleges must undergo internal changes, even as they interact with school districts in organizing bilingual and crosscultural programs in the schools. I believe adamantly that the successful mounting of reforms on these simultaneous fronts constitutes the key to our "ability to deliver" on the promise of multicultural education in this country.

The Response of Higher Education to Minority Students

Current approaches to the needs of minorities have evolved directly from the traditions and functional responsibilities described above. Recognizing this and noting that institutions appear to follow certain patterns, it appears useful to develop a classification scheme for identifying the approaches typically employed.

Two questions are basic to the identification of institutional approaches: (1) How does the institution view the problems faced by minorities in the university or college? and (2) What is the institutional response to the minority student regarding its base programs, disciplines, and degrees?

The first question addresses the issue of whether the institution views ethnic and cultural affiliation negatively, or whether the problems are judged to stem from factors that are not ethnically based. The second question centers on the nature of the institutional response: whether or not the institutional response has any impact on the base programs and degree fields of that university.

By combining these dimensions, a four-fold set of categories is obtained. (See Figure 1.) Each approach involves a philosophical perspective about how best to meet the needs of minority students; each has different programmatic implications.

Before elaborating on the approaches, one should recognize that typologies tend to oversimplify reality. Perhaps it is more valid to see these distinctions as continua along which institutional approaches can be located. It should also be emphasized that, since institutional responses have multiple determinants, it is possible to have a mixed perspective, one that can shift on particular issues to meet the needs of minority students. Despite these limitations, the scheme is useful. It should be viewed, however, as an oversimplified attempt to identify institutional positions vis-à-vis minority students. Ultimately, the purpose of the typology is to stimulate serious discussion of conceptual alternatives to the higher education of minority students.

System W or the Sympathizers Approach

Institutions that subscribe to the System W view take a "sympathy" approach to meeting the educational needs of ethnic minority students. They are convinced that deprived homes, linguistic differences, cultural alienation, and other factors have combined to lock these students into a "deprived" condition which requires special educational approaches. They are dedicated to the development of special programs consistent with the needs of the "unfortunate" minority students. The development of special programs geared to "their level" thus becomes the overarching goal of the institution's response. All of these special system programs are aimed at accommodating to the deficiencies minority students may have.

Special ethnic studies courses and degrees, "watered-down" curricula, and the employment of special ethnic instructors (with lower degree and

Figure 1

CLASSIFICATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION APPROACHES TO THE EDUCATION OF MINORITIES ACCORDING TO INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES AND VIEWS

Institutional Response to the Chicano as Regards Base Programs, Disciplines, and Degrees

Institution Views the Problems Faced by Minorities in Higher Education as Chiefly:

	Change(s)	No Change(s)
Student Deficiency Based	**System W or Sympathizers Approach** Institution takes a sympathetic view of those "poor unfortunate minorities." Is dedicated to making special efforts but is convinced that the present condition of minority students is basically irreversible. *Goals:* Development of special programs (within the structure) geared to "their" level. *Means:* Watered-down curricula which takes into account their "deprived" state. Special ethnic studies degrees and courses are considered excellent means. Hiring of special ethnic instructors under less stringent requirements is appropriate. Less demanding grading practices are usually condoned.	**System X or Compensators Approach** Institution takes a deficit perspective view of minority students. Insists that present "high standards" must be maintained and that any special efforts directed at minorities be strictly remedial. *Goals:* The maintenance of the existing system (as is) is the stated intent. Remedial programs to assist minorities overcome cultural and language handicaps are appropriate so long as they are designed to "bring them up to standard." *Means:* Compensatory and remedial program approaches which are organized to help minorities eradicate their cultural, educational, and linguistic deficits. Although upgrading of basic skills is a major concern, the "good" remedial programs attempt also to inculcate in the minority student those essential middle class majority cultural values said to be critical for surviving in America.
	Change(s)	No Change(s)
Not Student Deficiency Based	**System Y or Reformers Approach** Institution views the present status of minorities as primarily the result of a limited opportunity structure in society. Education determines, to a large extent, the stratification structure of American society which is inequitable from the perspective of the minority student and thus needs to be reformed. *Goals:* The reform of higher education systems along pluralistic lines in order to achieve equity for minorities in the general society. Program innovations across disciplines and degrees which will increase (quantitatively and qualitatively) the percentage of minorities prepared at the higher education level. *Means:* The organization of institutions authentically committed to cultural pluralism in educational form and practice is the basic concern. Program innovations must endeavor to: (1) provide basic competencies, skills, and preparation, (2) promote a self-awareness and ethnic pride in self for all students, and (3) develop, in all students the analytical skills needed to assess the existing structures of society in order to join actively in the search for improvement and change.	**System Z or Alternative System Builders Approach** The present system of higher education is considered beyond reform and basically dysfunctional to the real needs of minorities. Therefore, the creation of new alternative institutions is the course of action followed. *Goals:* The organization of parallel institutions which are organized and controlled by minorities. These are designed to prepare minorities in unique and different from-the-main approaches. Institutional objectives often strive directly to prepare ethnic minority students to liberate their brothers from the condition of internal colonialism. Equalization of power and wealth among minorities and the majority culture is the ultimate goal. *Means:* Development of institutional programs which will provide minority students with basic expertise, training and commitment to actively engage in the struggle toward achieving the above stated goals. Various non-traditional training and community based curricular activities are often key activities.

specialization requirements) are all acceptable practices, which are designed to demonstrate the institution's commitment to accommodate to the "deprived" state of these minority peoples. Less stringent grading practices are usually condoned on the same basis.

The impact of these changes on base programs, disciplines, and degrees is usually minimal. The changes primarily involve establishing new courses, opening new program areas, and even organizing new department structures and degree fields. This approach is essentially an organizational strategy that creates a parallel, optional track designed to meet the needs of a small percentage of students with "cultural deficiencies." These reforms appear to have had only minimal impact on programs that existed prior to the new adjustments.

System X or the Compensators Approach

The chief concern of institutions that take this approach is the maintenance of their present "high standards." Any special efforts must be remedial, aimed at bringing the minority student up to the standard of the clientele they have served in the past. The institutional view of minority education needs is a deficit-perspective one.

The goal of any System X program is simply to eliminate deficits and to upgrade the minority students. Compensatory education programs helping minority students reduce cultural, linguistic, and other deficits are considered appropriate. Although upgrading basic skills is a major concern, programs should also strive to inculcate certain essential majority cultural ideals and values. This approach assumes a no-change posture regarding base programs of the institution. Minority students who undergo remedial treatments are expected ultimately to meet the same criteria for admission, progression, and eventual graduation as do other students. The burden of change is on the student. It is assumed that the institution does not need to change its ongoing program to meet the needs of its minority students.

An overriding concern of the university is to assist minority students to learn and incorporate the middle-class values of the dominant group. Compensatory remedial education programs become the major vehicles for this purpose.

System Y or the Reformers Approach

Institutional approach Y assumes that the present status of minority students has resulted primarily from a limited opportunity structure, that education has influenced the stratification structure of our society, and that this structure has led to inequitable results in the distribution of status and power.

The reform of higher education along pluralistic lines in order to achieve equity is a professed goal. Program innovations "across the board" which implement that ideal must be developed and supported. The improvement of the ethnic human resources of this country, qualitatively and quantita-

tively, is a central concern.

Ways and means need to be found to encourage the growth and influence of institutions committed to cultural pluralism in form and in practice. Programs must endeavor not only to provide students the basic competencies needed to function effectively in society but also to promote students' self-awareness and ethnic pride. Finally, students will need to develop analytical skills to assess existing inequities in order to join actively in the search and push for positive changes.

System Z or the Alternative System Builders Approach

Those who adhere to this view consider the existing system of higher education as beyond meaningful reform. Universities are viewed as being basically dysfunctional in terms of the real needs of minority students. The creation of alternative universities is therefore considered the only logical strategy to follow in meeting the educational needs of minority students.

The organization of parallel institutions, organized and controlled by minorities, is the principal goal. These new institutions will need to prepare minority students in unique ways. The objective of new institutions is to provide minority students with the expertise necessary to liberate their brothers and sisters from the condition of internal colonialism. Equalization of power and wealth in the United States among ethnic minorities and the majority cultural groups is the ultimate aim. Non-traditional and community-based activities usually provide anchor points for the curricular programs of such institutions.

The preceding four-category scheme provides a basis for studying institutional approaches to the needs of minority students. Although I have no data to support this statement, I would estimate that practically all institutions fall into the first two categories. During the height of the Civil Rights thrust in the late 60's, there was a dramatic rise in the number of institutions with System W or Sympathizers approaches. In the 70's, we have seen a significant retreat of many of these to the second or System X approach. It is interesting to speculate about the few institutions that appear to be making significant progress toward the third type (System Y or Reformers approach), in spite of current adverse conditions. Of equal interest is why those few alternative institutions (System Z) sprouted in the places they did.

Speculation aside, I hope you agree that this typology can be useful in assessing where we are. It provides a framework for pegging the various approaches currently employed, and it can be useful in evaluating meaningful progress and shifts over time.

An important conclusion to draw from the preceding discussion is that each of the approaches may be appropriate at a particular point in the development of any institution. They may represent successive stages in the development of our institutions of higher education.

My bias is toward the System Y or the Reformers approach. If pressed for

a model to aim for in organizing needed reforms, I would select this one as the most appropriate. It provides a more humanistic alternative to the approaches used on most campuses. This approach will be the most appropriate for organizing authentically pluralistic programs to prepare teachers and professional specialists for work in multicultural settings. How best to initiate movement in that direction will, of course, depend on a variety of factors.

The Problem of Change Initiation of Higher Education

Recognizing the premises inherent in our target universities is only an initial step. How to go from "where we are" to "where we want to be" is never obvious or easy.

It is also important to recognize that there will be idiosyncratic differences among systems, which will forestall simplistic prescriptions for change. What may be successful in one system may prove dysfunctional in another. However, a rationale for change and the specification of key interactive elements is possible. I find that Talcott Parsons' general theory of social change provides a good framework for analysis because it is non-prescriptive in approach and yet applicable and sensitive to the nuances with which we are concerned. Social systems, according to Parsons, tend to differentiate into four sub-systems with the following primary functions: (1) pattern maintenance and tension management, (2) goal attainment, (3) adaptations, and (4) integration. Each of these sub-systems is responsible for carrying out those specialized processes required by the organization (Parsons and Smelser, 1956; Parsons, 1958).

Understanding the demands of a social system and how its sub-systems interact in responding to change is essential to the organization of systematically planned reforms. For example, the introduction of an innovation will disturb the existing equilibrium of a social system. This sets off a chain of accommodations throughout the four sub-systems — accommodations that are essential in creating a new equilibrium. The effectiveness of an innovation can be judged not only by how it disestablishes the old ways of working but by how well it creates a new and functionally viable equilibrium. The initiation of reform in any system, whether a university or a school district, always involves the creation of equilibrium problems. This change can be facilitated by anticipating the problems to be faced by the target systems involved.

All social systems are characterized by institutionalized value systems. For analytical purposes, we have categorized these systems as approaches W, X, Y, and Z. It is important to note that a system's first functional imperative is to maintain the integrity of its institutionalized value system. This process of maintenance, or the resistive efforts of an organization against pressures to change, is what Parsons calls the "pattern-maintenance function."

Closely related to pattern maintenance is the system's efforts to handle

motivational sources of change. Strains arise when the individual's motivations threaten the institutionalized values of the system. The process of stabilizing the integrity of the system's values against potential sources of change is called "tension management." These resistive activities are responsibilities of the pattern maintenance and tension management subsystem.

A social system functions in relation to external systems. These processes of interaction define the functional imperatives of the "goal attainment" and "adaptation" sub-systems. The "goal attainment" activities are usually labeled the political functions of the system. It is the function of the goal attainment mechanism to mobilize the resources of the system in pursuit of its basic goals. And, most importantly, it becomes the functional responsibility of this sub-system to organize efforts to establish new goals and whatever organizational patterns are needed for their accomplishment. The "adaptation" process involves the obvious need of all social systems to control, as well as adjust to, the environment for purposes of goal attainment. Ideally, the system will be able to develop ways of regenerating itself.

Lastly, a social system has to be able to develop viable ways to keep its sub-system inter-relationships mutually supportive. This is not automatic in human organizations. We know only too well that modern organizations are characterized by interpersonal strains between levels, within units, as well as between "our" organization and "others." The "integration" subsystem imperative, then, is to promote and maintain solidarity among its units.

All social systems (our target university included) can be described in terms of these four sub-systems' functions: (1) pattern maintenance and tension management, (2) goal attainment, (3) adaptation, and (4) integration. What is important is that, whatever the target system, it will have to adjust to innovation in predictable ways.

Organization of successful reform involves the effective resolution of a series of "problems" of the system: (1) gaining a commitment to a *new* set of values, (2) generating the resources necessary to attain the new goals, (3) producing conditions in the environment supportive of the new goals, and (4) developing the type of inter-unit relationships that will be in harmony with the new reforms. Applying this pattern to our basic concern, we can conclude that *all* that is involved in instituting a multicultural program approach in our typical target university is: (1) the establishment of new university goals, (2) the modification of individual value systems of its professional staff, (3) the mobilization of all resources required to promote the change, and (4) the establishment of the new inter-college and inter-departmental procedures necessary to support the reforms initiated. Although the preceding sentence is somewhat "tongue-in-cheek," it is also accurate. It points up the difficulty of reform in this value-laden area.

The Second Direction For Change: The School Districts

Several studies have documented the critically dysfunctional responses of public education to the culturally different. The *Mexican-American Education Study* (1970-1974) by the United States Commission on Civil Rights and the Southwestern Schools Study project (Arciniega and Brischetto, 1973) are probably the most comprehensive studies to date. These and other studies indicate five principal problem areas faced by minorities in our public schools:

1. Inadequate treatment and presentation of the historical, cultural, and economic contributions made by minorities to this country's development.
2. A pejorative view of the appropriateness, worth, and status of minority languages and dialects as bona fide media of instruction in classrooms.
3. Under-representation of minorities in school district staffing patterns, i.e., teachers, administrators, and counselors.
4. Lack of authentic involvement of minority communities in the decision-making structures of the school system.
5. Testing, counseling, and guidance programs based on a cultural-deficit perspective of minority students' needs.

Since our principal concern in this paper is the role of higher education, it is unnecessary to discuss these response patterns in the public schools. The important point is that these principal dysfunctions convert rather easily to goals that can provide a clear focus for reform. Taking the case of Chicanos, for example, they can be stated as follows:

Goal 1: Adequate treatment in the curriculum of the historical, cultural, and economic contributions made by Mexican-Americans to society in the United States.

Goal 2: Recognition of the appropriateness, worth, and status of the Spanish language as a bona fide medium of instruction in the classroom.

Goal 3: Adequate representation of Mexican-Americans in school district staffing patterns (i.e., teachers, administrators, and counselors).

Goal 4: Full and representative participation by the Mexican-American community in the decision-making structures of the districts.

Goal 5: Development of a testing, counseling, and guidance system based on a positive, rather than a cultural-deficit, perspective of Mexican-American student needs.

These five goals provide a clear statement of the proposed reforms of major concern to transcultural educators. However, the social-system terrain at the public school level is as complex as that for higher education.

School system efforts to develop alternative approaches to the problems summarized can also be viewed as four categories of system responses.

Figure 2

CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES ACCORDING TO CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN BACKGROUND*

Consequences Of Mexican-American Group Membership And Life Style Are Viewed Chiefly As:

Causes Of Mexican-American Life Styles Are Viewed Chiefly As:	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
INTERNAL	School Type A *Goals:* Promotion, enhancement, glorification of Mexican-American cultural traditions, folkways, norms, and social practices. *Educ. Approach:* Separatist strategies designed to secure control of the education of the Mexican-American. Only Mexican-Americans can shape valid educational programs for Mexican-Americans. Educational programs will emphasize the Spanish language, cultural awareness, and the historical tradition of the Mexican-American.	School Type B *Goals:* Elimination of the cultural deficiencies brought by the Mexican-American student. Inculcation of middle-class values of the majority culture is the principal aim of education for all Mexican-Americans in order to succeed. *Educ. Approach:* Compensatory education programs designed to overcome cultural deprivation. Cultural background is viewed as a handicap.
EXTERNAL	School Type C *Goals:* Assist the Mexican-American to cope more effectively. *Educ. Approach:* Educational programs must concentrate on: (1) providing students with the knowledge, skills, and political awareness to adequately (2) promote constant institutional changes designed to improve the opportunity structure for minorities in America. Biculturalism should be promoted for all, not just for the "culturally different."	School Type D *Goals:* Complete restructuring of the educational system as it presently exists is the only real solution to the educational problems faced by the Mexican-American. *Educ. Approach:* Since the present educational structure is considered an integral part of the total societal system responsible for the oppression of the Mexican-American, takeover and control of the present system is a necessary first step. Once accomplished, only then can the building of school programs, designed to liberate and free the people, truly take place.

*From Tomás A. Arciniega and Robert A. Brischetto, "Typology of Chicano Educational Program Approaches," *Inequalities in Educational Opportunity and the Chicano*, National Institute of Education Research Project, 1973-present.

Since school programs are based upon some assessment of need, the various approaches to the education of the Mexican-American can be conceptualized along two basic continua. The first involves the viewpoint of the school toward the consequences of Mexican-American group membership and life style. As stated in Figure 2, the school can look *positively* or *negatively* at the probable consequences of Chicano group membership on student performance. Secondly, school approaches can be classified in relation to views held by educators regarding the causes of Mexican-American life styles; thus, in addition to viewing minority cultural life either positively or negatively, public school educators may view the causes of student performance as being primarily *internal* and *external*.

The internal-factors viewpoint emphasizes factors indigenous to minority-group life and culture. Culture is viewed as persistent and self-perpetuating with cultural patterns being transmitted from one generation to the next (Arciniega and Brischetto, 1973). The external-factors viewpoint emphasizes the social and economic circumstances imposed on Mexican-Americans because of their group's comparatively lower "status" in United States society.

Minority-group members as a group occupy a subordinate class position vis-a-vis the dominant group. Likewise, they are stigmatized by the larger society because of certain ascribed characteristics, such as racial or ethnic origin, and thus may be said in a broad sense to share a common caste position. (Arciniega, 1976, p. 7)

By combining the external-internal continuum with the positive-negative one, we obtain in Figure 2 a four-fold classification scheme for analyzing educational approaches to the education of the Mexican-American.

In the remainder of this paper a brief description is given of the four basic educational approaches. The purpose of the typology and the descriptions of the various approaches is to stimulate serious thought and discussion. No claim is made that this model provides the "last word" in programmatic alternatives. Rather, the typology represents an oversimplified attempt to delineate the various combinations of perspectives. It should be obvious, too, that viable alternatives might include an eclectic plan borrowing from the various approaches.*

School Type A Response

Contrary to current writings about "culturally disadvantaged" minority groups, proponents of this viewpoint contend that: (1) Mexican-Americans have a superior culture, (2) Mexican-American folk traditions, norms, and history must be enhanced and promoted, and (3) only Mexican-Americans can teach their own effectively. Therefore, separatist strategies are proposed and the setting up of dual systems to promote the cultural heritage of *la raza* is advocated. The "separate but equal" doctrine is acceptable to the proponents of this view if it carries assurances of Chicano control of Chicano education. The "community" or "neighborhood school" approach is also acceptable if control is in the hands of Mexican-Americans. Obviously, segregated schools would be encouraged by advocates of this approach.

This romantic view of the Mexican-American has its philosophical roots in cultural-anthropologic, folklorist, and more recent cultural-nationalistic writings. Writers of Mexican descent have pushed hard toward a positive

*This section is based largely on the training monograph by the author entitled, *Problems and Issues in Preparing Teachers of Bicultural Chicano Youngsters*, United States, Educational Resources Information Center, ERIC Document ED 123 021, 1976.

view of Mexican-American group life. This is the major theme of the Chicano movement (Carranza, 1969). Various Chicano authors, writing in this vein, have contrasted the "negative" aspects of the majority culture with the "positive" cultural values of the Chicano family and community (Murillo, 1970).

School Type B Response

According to this perspective, the Mexican-American group affiliation and resultant life style are viewed as having consistently negative affects on the students' achievement in school. Mexican-Americans are viewed as members of a distinct subcultural group, who, as a result of that affiliation, are distinctly handicapped in school and in social mobility. The easy conclusion follows that, since the roots of the problem are found primarily within the group, Mexican-American students are viewed as "culturally deficient" or "culturally disadvantaged."

The task of the school, viewed from this perspective, is to eliminate cultural deficiencies or to help students overcome their cultural handicaps so that they may become "good Americans." Inculcation of proper middle-class, majority-culture values becomes the overriding concern of public education. Nowhere is the "pathology" or "cultural deficiency" more apparent than in literature dealing with the Mexican-American family. The supposed authoritarian structure of the family is said to stifle independence. All aspects of Mexican-American family life are viewed negatively.

The kind of socialization that Mexican American children generally receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society. This type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility — family ties, honor, masculinity, and living in the present — and by neglecting the values that are conducive to it — achievement, independence, and deferred gratification. (Heller, 1966, pp. 34-35)

The concept of "machismo" appears time and again to justify conflicting explanations of Mexican-American student behaviors (Montiel, 1970). All of these comparisons (and I have highlighted only a few) are well summarized in extensive "value dichotomies" literature. Zintz (1963), Saunders (1954), Madsen (1964), Edmonson (1968), and Ulibarri (1963) represent the view that the traditional value system of the Mexican-American has been the chief impediment to their academic achievement. This value system is supposedly oriented toward: (1) present rather than future gratification, (2) fatalism rather than disposition to change, and (3) personalism rather than independence. Vaca (1970), in his excellent review of the social science literature on the Mexican-American, calls this view the *cultural-determinism* approach. Cultural-determinism, according to Vaca, has replaced the earlier biological-determinism model. Thus, poor performance on intelligence tests and poor achievement in school no longer

needs to be explained in the unfashionable terms of genetic inferiority but rather (using a similar conceptual framework) in terms of cultural-determinism.

Similarly, "culture of poverty" writers have characterized the Mexican-American in dichotomous terms relative to the Anglo culture (Casavantes, 1971). Although some of the works in this area cut across ethnic boundaries, the net effect remains as a dichotomy of two types of value orientations with the Mexican being characterized as "bad" and the Anglo as "good." Changes must be wrought in Mexican-American students in the direction of the "good" values orientation. The dysfunctional effects of minority-group background can be overcome only by acculturation into the Anglo or "good" life style.

Compensatory education programs become important vehicles for effecting these required changes in the students. The majority of federal public school programs are based on a compensatory model. Their staff include most teachers of English-as-a-Second-Language and bilingual education programs. The purpose of these programs is to use the child's home language to get him away from it and into the "right" language more efficiently.

School Type C Response

This view holds that Mexican-American life styles are functional adaptations to primarily external constraints. Mexican-American life patterns are seen as "coping" responses to conditions imposed by majority domination. The focus is shifted from *internal* (cultural or biological) factors to external factors.

Culture, according to this approach, is dynamic and adaptive. It can be functional or dysfunctional relative to the goals of the greater society. As a proponent of this position, I have pointed out that Mexican-American life styles can be viewed as functional adaptations to the opportunity structure of the system and that they are directly attributable to minority status (Arciniega, 1971). Regardless of which mechanism is employed by Mexican-Americans to cope with a given situation, their lack of success can be explained primarily by analyzing the factors inherent in the larger societal system. Thus, positive changes in the larger society should be reflected in positive changes in the adaptive structure of the minority culture. Mexican-American culture is viewed as inherently capable of developing positive adaptations to more favorable conditions as they evolve.

Public education, under this approach, must assist the Mexican-American to cope more effectively. Educational programs must concentrate on: (1) providing students with basic intellectual knowledge, career guidance, and training, along with the necessary social and conceptual skills with respect to the institutional structure of society; and (2) directly promoting essential changes in the larger society in order to improve

opportunities and provide for more equitable participation by Mexican-Americans in society.

Bicultural education programs, which give equal status to Anglo and Mexican-American culture and language, provide ways of not only reaching Mexican-American children, but of equally benefiting Anglo children involved. This approach, in addition to elevating Mexican-American culture contributions, promotes change designed to affect attitudinal, normative, and cognitive changes in the dominant culture. The basic requirement is that cultural differences need to be genuinely accepted. We need to experience authentically the notion that to be culturally different is *not* to be inferior. On the contrary, cultural differences should be considered a valuable human resource. In this approach, education cannot be ethnocentric. It must emphasize that the learning of new behaviors is not inconsistent with the maintenance of desired norms and life patterns found in the minority culture.

The task of educators thus becomes primarily to fashion school environments that will enable Mexican-American students to develop positive self-images. In the process of acquiring the skills and knowledge mentioned above, these students will be enabled, as individuals, to take on and relinquish specific elements of culture in non-defensive ways. They will be encouraged, not obligated to preserve cultural patterns not only for their own benefit but for the benefit of the total society. For as Aragon (1971) states, only in contributing to both cultures is the goal of biculturalism truly achieved; Mexican-American culture must be preserved if it is to make needed contributions.

School Type D Response

This view argues that Mexican-American group membership and the resultant life styles are negative results of the internal colonialist conditions imposed by the majority culture. Present Mexican-American cultural life patterns are considered degenerated reflections of a once virile and strong society that literally underwent subjugation.

The only viable solution to the situation of the Mexican-American, according to this view, is complete restructuring. The goal is to do away with what presently exists and to build anew. Since present public educational systems are considered integral parts of the total societal structure responsible for the oppression of the Mexican-American, the public school system must be taken over and controlled. This is seen as a necessary first step before viable alternatives to the oppressed state of the Mexican-American can be developed.

Because the power structure is viewed as having literally "broken" the cultural backbone of the Mexican-Americans, the hope is that once the present structure falls, a new society can be built. The new society would liberate the Mexican-American culturally as well as economically.

Although none of the proponents of this view have developed educa-

tional programs in any great detail, most do share a reluctance to settle for a formal type of educational system. Some alternatives to formal educational institutions are advanced; these range from computer-individualized learning approaches to complete tele-learning. The emphasis, however, is primarily on what is undesirable in the present system rather than upon presentation of concrete alternatives.

Moore (1970) and Blauner (1969) perhaps best exemplify this point of view. Blauner first applied the "colonizer" and "colonized" scheme to a study of the Black; Moore applied this colonial scheme to the case of the Mexican-American. The social-oppression process, common to both Blacks and Chicanos, consists of four phases: (1) colonizer forces his way in; (2) colonizer constrains, transforms, and destroys indigenous values and way of life; (3) colonizer manages and manipulates the colonized; and (4) the majority group enforces power in a "racist" fashion. And, as Brischetto (1971) has noted, contemporary social disturbances and urban disorders are responses to this colonization process.

The Problem of Change Initiation at the School System Level

As with the university reforms noted previously, recognition of the value premises of public education approaches is only a first step. We have noted the utility of the Parsonian model in analyzing problems resulting from change. Certainly the organization of significant reforms in any combination will inject stress into the public school system involved. Here, too, the initiation of serious reform will set off the change process as noted earlier. The first step involves activities needed for generating a commitment to a *new* set of values. Second, the system will have to mobilize the resources required to implement the proposed reform. Third, the school system will need to work on the environmental conditions to insure external support for the new goals and for reform. Finally, the school system has to develop smooth working relationships among its various units involved in accomplishing the reforms: in short, the effective integration of various aspects of the system in full support of the changes.*

Concluding Comments and Implications

The problems associated with the initiation of pluralistic approaches in education have far-reaching implications. The analyses of organizational structures, at both the university and public school levels, pointed out the complexities as well as the similarities involved. What may not have been obvious is the close linkage inherent in effecting such reforms.

Successful innovations and reforms in public school systems almost invariably are the result of collaborative involvements among school districts, an outside resource agency (usually a university or other educational

*A more extensive discussion of the Parsonian application to the school level was not provided for the sake of brevity and because the central focus of this paper is higher education. Certainly the school-level analysis is equally as important and complex.

agencies), and relevant community groups. (Teacher organizations are beginning to make their presence felt and certainly will need to be more directly involved in the future as a distinct and equal partner.)

Reform efforts in education usually require close linkages between the target schools and a university. The university has a critical role to play in the multicultural or crosscultural education movement. Universities are prime resource agencies in the organization and planning of projected reforms. As recognized specialists in the preparation of key professional personnel, they are obvious sources of technical assistance.

This brings us to the problem of "mesh" between levels. At present, the value premises of both systems are not openly accepting of the current thrust toward pluralism. Therefore, change-reform efforts are required at both levels in a manner that will not only be viable for each but mutually supportive. This critical inter-relationship or "mesh" is what makes the problem of initiating change so complex in the area of multicultural education. To what extent is it going to be necessary to change the higher education institution *before* launching proposed reforms at the district level? Is it possible to rely on changing only certain units of the university and go from there to organization of change at the school level? Can a district select only certain educators and certain resources from the university level and thus bypass the seemingly insurmountable task of changing the entire higher education system? What combination of approaches makes for the best strategy? For example, is it always best to have a mesh of higher education System Y with public school System C? Can a higher education System X serve useful supporting functions?

As I noted earlier, there is no definitive answer, in a prescriptive sense, to any of these crucial questions. Obviously, the appropriateness of any answer, and the resultant strategy, will vary with the unique conditions inherent in a given situation. I do hope, however, that the frameworks presented will provide useful, although admittedly over-simplified, conceptual tools for the planning and initiation of educational reforms that can move our schools toward more effective culturally-pluralistic approaches.

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8

The Instructional Process In Transcultural Education

Madeline C. Hunter

. . . the teacher must be culturally competent in order to implement a transcultural education.

THE GOALS of transcultural education should be the formation of a healthy self-concept, acceptance, and respect for others, and productivity within the extended community.

These realistic goals have two critical points of vulnerability. The first is philosophic. Vulnerability is vested in the integrity of decisions generated from a philosophic base that determines the learnings, behaviors, and materials that constitute the curriculum for a transcultural program. The validity of these components or sub-objectives, which comprise the program and provides the educational launching pad from which the learner's achievement of transcultural education is made possible, rests on the same philosophic base.

The second critical point of vulnerability is of a scientific nature. It is vested in the translation of what is currently known about *all* human learning into daily teacher-learner decisions and actions. Actions have the power to increase the probability of successful achievement of any educational goal, regardless of its philosophic genesis.

Consequently, the most laudatory philosophic goals are futile if they are not achieved; and the most psychologically satisfying achievement is futile if the goal is not worthy of the effort. Both points of vulnerability must be considered so the assailability of educational decisions can be minimized.

All materials that profess to contribute to a transcultural program must be scrutinized to see that they incorporate the philosophical and psychological thinking of the times rather than wishful thinking.

Three Areas Of Professional Competence

This paper will focus on the identification of those professional competencies that must be developed by the teacher if he/she is to contribute to the achievement of the goals of a transcultural program. Although

knowledge of a culture is a necessary ingredient of such professional competence, it is far from sufficient to ensure successful learning. The notion that the teacher must be *of* the culture of the learner has been discarded. There are stockpiles of evidence that being *of* a culture and knowing how to teach members of that culture are not the same.

Professional education is based on the assumption that teaching is a learned skill combining art and science; people are not "born teachers." Clearly, learning in any area may come more easily to some than to others. Nonetheless, the complex skills of successful teaching are attainable by most individuals willing to expend the time and effort necessary to acquire them.

Preceding papers have focused on the philosophic problem of identifying goals and objectives that provide the foundation for curricular decisions in transcultural education. This paper on professional preparation will focus on three areas. The first area will include decisions and resultant behaviors of teachers and students in relation to their consonance with accepted psychological principles. These principles are ones that research has indicated will significantly increase the probability of achievement of *any* objective for all students (regardless of age, ethnic or socio-economic derivation, and regardless of whether cognitive, affective, psychomotor, or action-pattern learnings are being sought).

The second area will focus on the adaptations of psychological principles necessary to accommodate the *individuality of any learner* regardless of culture.

Finally, this paper will deal with the culture that is different from that of the teacher. This will help the teacher make valid inferences.

Educational materials must conform to research-based principles of learning and valid interpretations of culture. Criteria for determining the consonance of materials with psychological and cultural data will not be discussed in this paper. It is important to emphasize, however, that materials can never completely satisfy each learner. Those sensitive modifications can be accomplished only at the point of learner-material interaction with decisions made by a discerning professional present.

To provide the teaching "assist," which is essential to the achievement of a transcultural education regardless of the materials being used, the teacher must have acquired the professional competence to deliberately incorporate into the teaching-learner interaction the following three areas of professional competence.

I. Basic Knowledge of the Science of Teaching
   The teacher must incorporate into all planning and teaching interactions *principles of learning* that research has demonstrated will increase the probability of successful achievement of any learning outcome. (Examples of those principles are "active participation by the learner" or "mass practice at the initial stage of learning.")
II. Adaptations to Accommodate the Individual

The teacher must design *accommodations* that tailor psychological principles to the particular needs of an individual learner. (Examples of questions to be answered are: "Should participation be overt or covert?" or "How much massing or redundancy must be built into a practice session for this learner?")

III. Cultural Knowledge

The teacher must make *corrections in anticipation and inference* which are essential to the behavior of the learner when the culture of the teacher and the learner are not the same. (Examples of cultural questions are: "Is it more typical in the learner's culture to participate by watching or by doing?" or "What will make participation and practice dignified, meaningful, and satisfying to learners of a particular culture?")

Medicine is probably the profession most similar to education because both focus on the betterment of humankind. Citing a medical analogy may clarify the differences among these three areas of professional competence.

The doctor applies *basic knowledge* from anatomy and physiology to promote health for all patients.

Applying professional judgment to make *adaptations* needed, the doctor adjusts the treatment, prescription, or dosage on the basis of the individual needs of a patient.

Applying the *knowledge of the culture* of a patient, the doctor anticipates and interprets reactions, such as differential response to pain, predilection for seeking medical vs. other sources of health advice, and the acceptability of certain treatments.

The *priority in which these three competencies are listed is essential*, for each professional competency is subsumed by the preceding one. One cannot correctly accommodate for an individual learner if the invariance of all learners is not understood. (The doctor cannot prescribe treatment for one patient if the anatomy and physiology of all humans are not understood.) In like manner, it is not possible to correctly interpret learners' cultural differences if individual differences *within* a culture cannot be accommodated. (If the doctor does not take into account the pain threshold of individuals within a culture, he/she will not be able to anticipate and accommodate the cultural mores for reaction to pain.) As we deal with cultural differences, we should always be aware of the possibility that the variance within a culture might be greater than the variation between cultures. This situation has been found to be characteristic of many other human variations.

Identifying Professional Behaviors That Constitute Competency In These Three Areas

The three areas of professional competence identified indicate areas of focus for professional education. Each area must now be spelled out in terms of decisions and action patterns, which become the practice of an education professional.

A professional development program for transcultural education must have as its primary focus the development of specific competencies in the science of teaching. The art of teaching is based on the adaptation of that science to a learner's individual needs. Those primary competencies constitute the foundation on which professional performance is based. Added to, but not in lieu of, this foundation are the cultural competencies needed when working with learners whose culture is different from the teacher's.

Each of the three areas will be discussed separately to identify the professional behaviors that constitute competency in that area. It must be kept in mind, however, that decisions and actions from all three areas are in a constant state of dynamic interaction; not one area remains paramount. It is the orchestration of professional knowledge (in the three areas), with the constant stream of data that emerges during the process of instantaneous "on your feet" classroom decisions that creates "the symphony of teaching."

The first level of importance (not listed in the order in which these competencies must be acquired) include the following professional behaviors.

The teacher works from a task analysis of the intended objective (cognitive, affective, psychomotor, or action pattern) in order to individualize instruction for learners. In this way, the current learning objective can be identified at the appropriate level of difficulty for each learner.

In planning and teaching, the teacher makes decisions to ensure that effort is directed to the achievement of the intended objective rather than being dissipated by irrelevant or inconsequential matters. (This does not imply rigidity but rather rigor and economy in the expenditure of *time* and *energy*. These two commodities are the "coins" of teaching; they are what the teacher and learner consume to "buy" learning.)

In order to focus on the appropriate level of difficulty so that pupil achievement of the objective is highly probable, the teacher must constantly monitor and adjust the focus for maximum return for the teaching and/or learning of time and effort.

Throughout all teacher and/or learner decisions and actions, the teacher must consciously apply those principles known to exert influence on students' motivation to learn, the rate and degree of their learning, and the retention and transfer of that learning to new situations. In this paper, we can merely list the principles that should become the content of teacher education in the application of psychology.

1. Factors affecting motivation to learn
   a. Concern
   b. Feeling tone
   c. Probable success (relation of level of difficulty to readiness)
   d Interest
   e. Knowledge of results
   f. Extrinsic — intrinsic
2. Factors affecting rate and degree of learning (Listed alphabetically,

not in order of importance)

a. Active Participation
   1) Overt
   2) Covert
b. Anticipatory set
c. Degree of guidance
d. Hemispheric input
e. Knowledge of results (specific and precise)
f. Level of aspiration
g. Meaning
h. Modeling
i. Motivation
j. Positive and negative transfer
k. Practice (amount of material and time)
   schedule (massed or distributed), feedback, over-learning
l. Reinforcement (positive, negative, extinction, schedule)
m. Sequence, length and relationship
n. Vividness

3. Factors that affect retention
   a. Degree of original learning
   b. Feeling tone
   c. Practice schedule
   d. Meaning
   e. Transfer
4. Factors that affect transfer
   a. Similarity
   b. Association
   c. Degree of learning
   d. Critical attributes

The fifth professional competency is a remedial one. It exists to safeguard the previous four as the teacher maintains constant vigilance to minimize or eliminate any violation of the four professional competencies. Thus, any deterrent to a student's successful achievement is removed or ameliorated.

These five competencies constitute the science of teaching and are invariant to the success of all learners and the achievement of all goals. In transcultural education, any professional development program designed to achieve excellence in teaching should model its decisions and performance on these five professional competencies. As a result, the curriculum of teacher preparation for a transcultural education program must result from a task analysis of the goals of that program. Those goals should augment, not replace, the professional competence necessary for successful teaching in any program.

The teacher's adjustment to the needs of individual learners constitutes the second area of professional competence. In applying the principles, the teacher must adjust to the idiosyncratic dimensions of any learner. In the

previous example: "mass practice at initial stages of learning," the teacher must estimate and then carefully monitor the amount of practice needed by different students in order to learn. One student might be given two opportunities to apply a new concept because that's all the practice he/she needs. Another student might need four consecutive practice opportunities.

To cite another example, an important principle of learning is that a behavior becomes more probable or stronger when it is immediately reinforced. What constitutes a positive reinforcer for one student, however, may not be a positive reinforcer for another. Consequently, a teacher must apply the generalizations from a reinforcement theory with the "custom tailoring" that reflects the teacher's knowledge of an individual student. To one learner the teacher might say, "You ought to be proud of yourself. That is a great job!" To another, "You just never get caught, do you?" To a third, "Remember when that used to be hard for you and now it's easy?" The teacher's responses are neither random nor the result of momentary feelings; they reflect a considered professional decision.

The *science* of instruction involves the use of the principles of learning in the teaching-learning process. The *art* of teaching involves use that reflects sensitivity to the learner, the setting, and the prevailing circumstances.

The first two areas of professional competence (application of the science of learning and adaptation of scientific principles to accommodate the needs of the individual) constitute the hallmark of a successful professional in education. In transcultural education, however, a third dimension of competence is essential. That dimension evolves from knowledge of the student's culture when it is different from that of the teacher. Thus, corrections can be built into the teacher's assumptions or inferences. This type of cultural awareness is very different from knowledge of a culture as curriculum content or knowledge of a culture to value that culture, both of which are extremely important. Building cultural corrections into teaching decisions, based on inferences and predictions, is a pedagogical necessity when the cultures of the teacher and the learner differ. This cultural correction will give a *pedagogical* assist when assumptions and inferences are involved in teaching those students mathematics, physical education, social studies, and English. Knowledge of a culture will give a *curricular* assist which promotes the validity of what is being taught about that culture or the preparation of materials that deal with that culture. Both pedagogical and curricular validity must be reflected in any materials, goals, or objectives that are part of a transcultural program.

Knowledge of a culture gives pedagogical integrity to the teaching process. It is knowledge used to anticipate students' behavior and to predict the culturally-based inferences those students will make about the behavior of others. Knowledge of a culture that is prediction-yielding will also build correction into the teacher's culturally-based, and therefore, biased interpretations of a student's behavior as well as the instructional

and attitudinal inferences generated by that interpretation. Possibilities for interpretive errors exist whenever the teacher's set of values, folkways, and mores differ from those of the student. This is true whether those differences are socio-economic, regional, subcultural, or cultural. The adjustment required, moreover, extends on a continuum from the minimal adjustment required for members of the same family to the sometimes maximal adjustment required by the major cultural differences that exist within the family of humankind.

To acknowledge that the difference between a Chicano student and a middle-class Anglo teacher or a poor Anglo student and a middle-class Anglo teacher is a difference of degree rather than a difference in kind is to make it possible to build cultural correction into the teacher's educational interpretations, inferences, assumptions, and predictions for *all* students.

The writer recognizes that many believe that culture reflects differences in kind rather than degree. This belief leads teachers to assume that a student from a different culture is different in every way. It causes teachers to make stereotypic interpretations of the behavior of those students and to ignore the significant variation within their culture. To assume that all Chicano's behavior reflects the same values and beliefs is as great an error as to assume that children from poor and affluent Anglo families can be interpreted from the same orientation, or that children from a professor's and an unskilled laborer's family reflect identical values and beliefs because they belong to the same culture.

Transfer of learning (from past knowledge and experience) occurs whenever a teacher makes inferences about the behavior of students. The similarity in behavior between a current student and someone the teacher has known in the past transfers feelings and knowledge from the past to the current situation. For example, in typical Anglo culture, it is assumed that the child who looks you in the eye when he/she is talking is comfortable, sincere, and confident. The child who does not is described as "shifty-eyed." The inference is made that he/she is uncomfortable or insincere. Even though these assumptions or inferences may not be correct, they are transferred from past experiences into interpretations of an Anglo student's current behavior. Unfortunately, these assumptions transfer with equally high probability into the inferences made by an Anglo teacher about students from other cultures. In certain cultural modes, not meeting the teacher's eyes is interpreted as politeness and respect for the adult. Such inferential errors can only be eliminated when a teacher has the correct cultural information.

Similarly, inappropriate transfer of past learning can occur when the Anglo teacher wishes to talk about routine matters to parents of a Chicano child and telephones the child's mother. I would say in Anglo culture, the father is contacted only when the problem is unusually severe. In Chicano culture, however, the teacher should make contact with the father, or, if he is not available, a grandmother. In the same way, the Chicano teacher may

inappropriately transfer past learning when he/she telephones the father of an Anglo student about a routine matter. To compound the complexity of this type of cultural inference, the teacher must also make assumptions about the degree to which either an Anglo or Chicano family has changed due to enculturation.

Correcting cultural biases is essential for professional competency in transcultural education. Inferences, judgments about things that cannot be perceived or measured directly, form an important basis for professional decisions and actions. The more knowledge and experience the professional acquires, the higher the probability that an inference will be made correctly.

The perception of similarity between a present situation and one in the past enables the professional to make operational assumptions in the present even when facts are not known. For example, having seen someone in the past blush when embarrassed leads the teacher to infer that the student who is currently blushing needs support and reassurance. As teachers gain knowledge and experience, they develop alternative notions about a person who is red-faced; the student could be hot, angry, or sunburned. Increased knowledge and experience enable a teacher to seek, identify, and use significant clues or prior events to make correct inferences.

Most of the important data about a student are inferred; self-concept, feelings about school or particular subjects, intentions, interests, and attitudes are all based on the similarity of that student's behavior to individuals in the past whom the teacher knew or learned about. These inferences reduce the time it takes a teacher to know a student and to make educational decisions appropriate to him/her. (The writer has discovered the increased time required to know students from a different culture well enough to make appropriate plans and teaching decisions.) Learning can be accelerated as long as the teacher's breadth of knowledge and experience promotes valid inferences. Even then, those inferences must always remain estimates of probability, never perceived as certainties. They must be subject to constant scrutiny, as well as monitoring for additional data that would corroborate, revise, or reject the inference.

A teacher's ability to make sound inferences, however, breaks down when the transfer of past knowledge and experience into present situations leads to invalid results, such as when the student is from a culture markedly different from that of the teacher. "Culture shock" is the phenomenon of finding that one's assumptions and inferences are no longer valid because one is dealing with a culture where the same situation and behaviors no longer justify the same inferences.

It is important to note, however, that the native to that culture will not automatically make correct inferences. Those inferences must be translated into the science of teaching and the accommodation to the individual, both basic to the promotion of learning.

Consequently, the teacher of transcultural education must develop cultural competency in addition to, not in lieu of, the competencies listed for all teachers. This involves the teacher's acquisition of knowledge and experience of the students' culture. With that knowledge, the teacher may more correctly interpret and anticipate the behavior of students from that culture and thereby make more effective professional decisions.

In most teacher preparation programs, the professional decision-making potential of a teacher's knowing about a culture has not been realized or made explicit. Teachers have "learned about" their students in the hope that osmosis would make them more empathic and effective. How to make professional use of cultural information was never clarified. This emphasis is not intended to minimize the value of a teacher's knowledge of a culture in promoting respect for that culture.

Critically needed for professional education, however, is the contrastive analysis between cultures that has been done by linguistics between languages. In that way, the areas of similarity and difference between cultures would be clearly specified. This would enhance professional learning by encouraging positive transfer of teachers' previous learning when appropriate to cultural similarities. Conversely, it would minimize negative transfer where similarities would elicit inappropriate application of previous learning.

Professional competencies related to the scientific use of principles of learning and the adaptation of those principles to the individuality of each learner have already been identified by teacher educators to a functional degree. Much, however, still remains to be done to articulate and transmit this to the practicing professional.

The teacher working with different cultures often articulates assumptions, inferences, and predictions which remain romanticized, amorphous, and filled with stereotypical errors. Hopefully, the focus of this paper on the necessity of cultural literacy to professional competence in transcultural education will stimulate further consideration and development of this area.

Accountability

"Accountability" has become the current key word in education. The accountability, however, of any professional resides in the consonance of decisions and actions with the current knowledge in the field. Accountability for successful transcultural education mandates the teacher to achieve competency in these three professional decision-making areas:

1. The science and art of the profession of teaching.
2. Adaptation of that science and art to each individual learner.
3. Assumptions and inferences made on the basis of the individual's culture.

These three areas of professional competence are essential to the achievement of the goals of transcultural education. Equal opportunity for learners does not mean identical treatment. Equal opportunity refers to the degree and quality of effort by teachers and institutions to maximize

achievements that contribute to the learner's self-concept. Respect for the rights and dignity of others, and productive contributions to his/her own community as well as to the extended community of the world, are other concommitants of equal opportunity.

Accountability, then, whether it be for the education of teachers or of the younger learners in those teachers' classrooms, must offer quality professional service to the recipients. This service increases the probability of successful achievement; such *professional service* is subject to instructional control. Those who deliver instructional service, however, cannot be held accountable for a predetermined level of achievement of any *one* learner. There are too many idiosyncratic or environmental factors that are not subject to instructional control. Regardless of these factors, however, the better the quality of the "assist" by teaching, the greater the achievement of any learner, in spite of idiosyncratic or environmental drawbacks. This principle, of course, is what makes teaching a profession. The hallmark of a successful teacher is the making of the decisions based on previous knowledge and the ability to synthesize that knowledge with data about the learner to adjust instructions to his/her needs.

Summary

This paper has identified three areas of professional competence that should constitute the pedagogical curriculum for staff development in transcultural education.

1. Teaching decisions and behaviors, which are consonant with psychological principles, will significantly increase the probability of any learning.
2. Modifications of those principles are necessary to accommodate the individuality of each learner.
3. Knowledge of the students' culture enables the teacher to build corrections into assumptions, inferences, and predictions in relation to each student.

The first two competencies are common to all teaching. They comprise the basis for the third competency, which is needed when teacher and student come from different cultures.

While all three competencies comprise the *science* of successful teaching in transcultural education, the way in which the individual teacher combines these competencies (in educational design and daily interaction with students) comprises the *art* of teaching. To date, we know a great deal about the science of education, but we know little about how to develop in teachers the sensitivity and creativity we hope will become the "educational right" of every student.

Neither the "art" nor the "science" of education can stand alone; both are needed. If we stress them in the professional education of teachers, thereby equipping them with the skills of effective teaching, experience would seem to indicate that from such a foundation most teachers will develop the sensitivity and creativity of the educational artist.

9

The Integrative Model For The Professional Training Of Bilingual Teachers

Augusto Britton

Each child has within him a vast potential for growth and the development of unique human capacities; it is the *common obligation* of the schools to provide the climate, the experiences, and the human models that will nurture these cognitive, affective, and physical capacities.

THE NEED FOR trained bilingual teachers, capable of effectively teaching in both the child's dominant language and English, is well established. In a recent report to Congress, the Comptroller General of the United States (1976) found that the following factors adversely affect the academic achievement of limited-English-speaking children in bilingual instructional programs:

1. The dominant language of limited-English-speaking children might not have been used enough for classroom instruction.
2. There often seemed to be too many English-speaking children in the project classrooms, thereby diluting program services for limited-English-speaking children.

The report concluded that:

insufficient instruction in the dominant language of the limited-English-speaking child appears to be due primarily to the lack of qualified bilingual education teachers. (p. 51)

If the goal of bilingual-bicultural education is to provide equal educational opportunities to the culturally and linguistically different learner, a decisive effort must be made to train teachers who can perform efficiently (linguistically, culturally, and pedagogically) in the bilingual-bicultural classroom. A recent report emphasized the need for careful selection of teachers to achieve quality education in bilingual instructional programs:

Since a number of diverse skills are needed in a curriculum which involves two languages and two cultures, consideration of teacher for bilingual-bicultural programs would include their motives for teaching, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, competency in teaching in two languages, and language of specific subject matter. (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1976, p. 93)

The Rationale of the Integrative Model for Bilingual Teacher Training

Among the institutions that influence our lives, schools make the greatest single contribution to the total social welfare. They play a significant part in shaping the direction and quality of our human experience. Every human being, every child, is a worthwhile individual; collectively, they represent our most precious natural resource. Each child has a vast potential for growth and the development of unique human capacities; it is the *common obligation* of the schools to provide the climate, the experiences, and the human models that will nurture these cognitive, affective, and physical capacities. Our system of public education has been instituted with the goal that *all* children of *all* people will receive this nurturance.

This is not a new concept; the impetus comes from the works of William James and John Dewey. They emphasized the paramount importance of focusing our educational endeavors on the individual learner. This humanistic approach sees the person as being one who: (1) achieves uniquely human qualities through interpersonal contact, (2) has conscious self-awareness, and (3) is capable of making choices that guide his/her behavior.

In humanistic education, the goal is to help each student develop positive potentialities and become the best human being he/she can — one who is emotionally, rationally, and physically developed to the maximum. In order to achieve this goal, the effective teacher must meet these primary conditions: (1) be adequately prepared in the subject or course to be taught, (2) have some general knowledge of how humans learn and the technical skills required to present material in a learnable fashion, and (3) have a well-developed repertoire of interpersonal skills with which to establish, maintain, and promote effective interpersonal relationships in the classroom. Some researchers consider the third condition to be the most important; according to Weigand, "How we interact, relate and transact with others, and the reciprocal impact of this phenomenon, form the single most important aspect of our experience" (Weigand, 1971, p. 247).

Meaningful education is not easily achieved. It generally results from competent teachers interacting with students in ways that help the students become effective learners. Conversely, teachers who are ineffective generally lack such competencies.

The relationship between teachers and students is one of interdependence; neither party can enact a role without the participation of the other. Study of successful teachers indicates that one of the most powerful factors in producing an effective learning situation is the student's liking for the teacher. Students who liked school liked their teachers and showed positive behavior in the classroom; they also indicated that their teachers were kind, friendly, patient, helpful, fair, had a sense of humor, showed an

understanding of student's problems, allowed plenty of pupil activity, and at the same time maintained order. On the other hand, students who disliked school disliked their teachers and misbehaved in the classroom, indicated that their teachers used sarcasm and ridicule, were domineering and had favorites, used punishment to maintain discipline, failed to provide for the needs of individual pupils, and had disagreeable personality peculiarities (Gazda, 1974).

Several researchers agreed that the teacher, more than any other person, sets the emotional climate in the classroom. Summarizing several studies, Gazda (1974) concluded that: (1) the teacher's behavior largely determines the emotional quality of the classroom, (2) teacher-pupil relationships may affect pupils at deep psychological levels, and (3) the way a teacher behaves in interacting with students affects how students come to view other social relations and how they will treat others.

A Competency-Based Approach

The Integrative Model, to be presented in this paper, subscribes to a competency-based teacher training approach. The advantages of this approach (Sullivan, 1974) are:

1. The responsibility for achievement is shared with teacher trainers, prospective teachers, and public school personnel; failure is not placed on the learner and the culture.
2. The competency-based approach recognizes the possibility of *teaching disabilities*, that is, the inability of teachers to be effective with all groups of learners.
3. This competency-based approach deals with goals and objectives whose attainment can be objectively determined.
4. This competency-based approach focuses on process and outcome factors, based on specified criterion levels of performance, and creates an environment conducive to continuous assessment and re-evaluation.
5. Finally, from this author's point of view, the competency-based approach allows for the inclusion of supervisors, peers, and community participants in determining the achievement of stated competencies.

The competency-based approach has recently been advocated by a group of researchers and educators who see this procedure as the most valid approach for the bilingual-multicultural classroom (Hunter, 1974).

The Integrative Model: Areas Of Teacher Competencies

The demands on the teacher in the bilingual-bicultural classroom are many and varied. Thus, it is necessary to specify the areas of desired competencies required to enable the teacher to effectively perform in such a classroom. The Integrative Model suggests that the training of bilingual teachers should include the following competencies:

1. Language proficiency
2. Sociocultural knowledge and understanding
3. Psychopersonal knowledge and understanding
4. Curriculum
5. Teaching methodologies
6. Classroom management
7. Linguistic knowledge and understanding

Figure 1 summarizes the goals, areas of competence, and target groups in the Integrative Model. As indicated, the first two competencies (language proficiency and sociocultural knowledge and understanding) could both be provided by a two-year college or at the lower-division level of a four-year college.

A. Language Proficiency

This competence is concerned with the trainee's ability to speak, read, and write English, as well as the dominant language of the community in diverse situations. The trainee is expected to demonstrate:

1. Verbal fluency in speaking the dominant language and English.
2. The skill of comprehending, and communicating in the community-spoken language (Barrio Spanish, etc.) and English.
3. Reading skills in the dominant language and English.
4. Writing skills in the dominant language and English.

More advanced competencies, "exit competencies," should require the trainee to demonstrate dominant language and English fluency in:

a. classroom and pedagogic language which involve vocabulary and usage (the terminology needed to give instruction in specific subject matter concepts at all levels of instruction).
b. oral language used in public speaking, parent-teacher conferences, lecturing, etc.

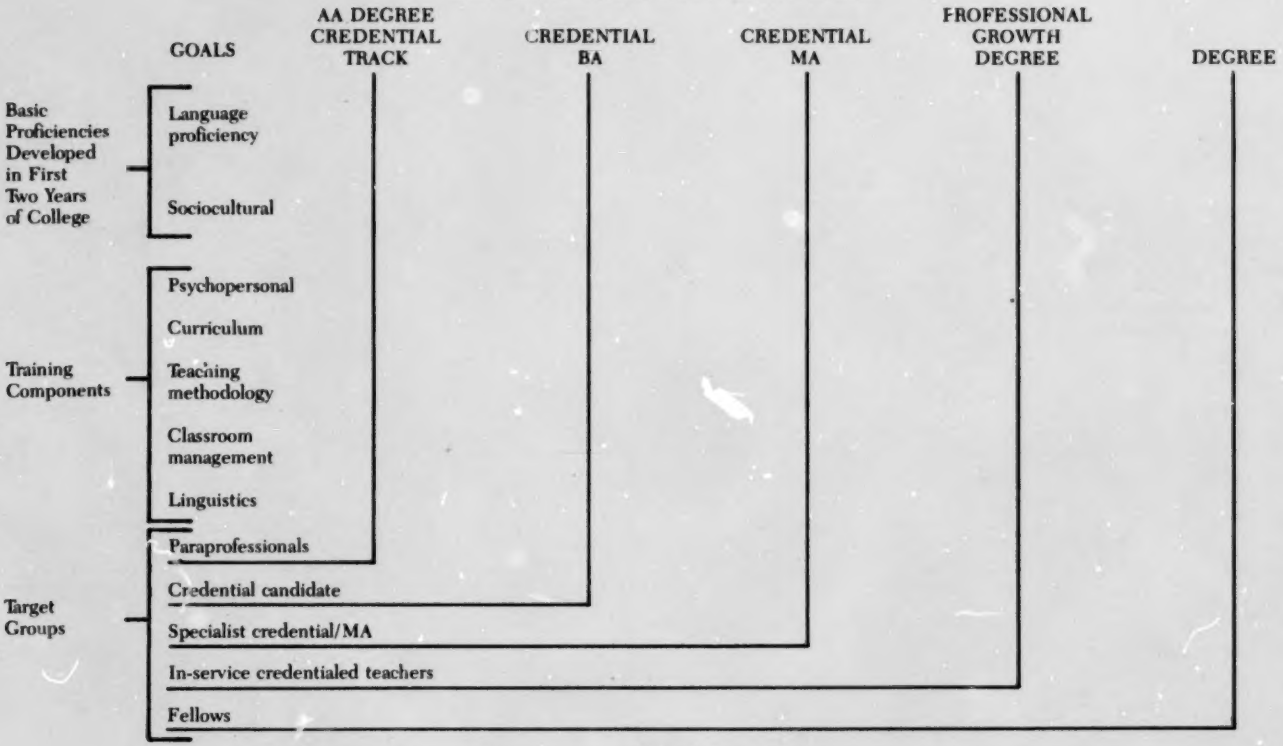
B. Sociocultural Knowledge and Understanding

The sociocultural competencies should be recognized as crucial for teachers of culturally and linguistically different learners. This component, however, is traditionally excluded from teacher preparation programs. Operating on this premise, the Integrative Model posits that trainees must become aware of the influence of their attitudes and conceptions in determining their own behavior and in shaping the attitudes and perceptions of their students. The trainee is expected to:

1. Develop and demonstrate a sensitivity to, and appreciation of, cultural diversity as reflected within the school/community setting and in the planning, development, and implementation of the curriculum.
2. Identify the nature and the effects of socio-cultural variables on students' development and learning styles (cognitive, psychomotor, and affective) and utilize such knowledge in the implementation of the curriculum.

Figure 1

GOALS, AREAS OF COMPETENCE, AND TARGET GROUPS IN THE INTEGRATIVE MODEL



3. Identify and systematically apply research findings relevant to the education of children in the United States from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.
4. Identify and explain the basic nature and dynamics of culture and their effects on behavior.
   a. identification and definition of culture
   b. universal concept of culture
   c. dynamics of culture
   d. cultural effects upon behavior
5. Identify and explain historical, contemporary, and basic aspects of the teacher's, the student's, and the dominant society's culture.
   a. historical perspective of values, language modes, and institutions of a specific group in a cross-cultural society
   b. nature and effects of similarities and differences among societal groups
   c. nature and implementation of prejudicial manifestations of ethnocentrism in racism and sexism

C. Psychopersonal Knowledge and Understanding

Most teacher-training programs emphasize training in methodological competencies to the detriment of psychopersonal competencies. The Integrative Model of Bilingual Teacher Training subscribes to the assumptions that learning is more effective when the teacher is adequately prepared in the subject of course to be taught, has some general knowledge of how humans learn the technical skills to present material in a learnable fashion, and has a well-developed repertoire of interpersonal skills through which the teacher can establish, maintain, and promote effective interpersonal relationships in the classroom. The trainee is expected to:

1. Distinguish, describe, and interpret alternative models and theories of human growth and development in terms of basic assumptions and empirical research.
2. Demonstrate skills and effectiveness in making objective evaluations of students' readiness to learn and perform under various teaching techniques and instructional materials and programs.
3. State and demonstrate understanding and awareness of initial, interstage, and terminal growth and development processes for individuals in relative isolation or in highly socialized situations subject to social forces.
4. Demonstrate and apply skills in making educational decisions and planning curricula, according to longitudinal (early childhood through adolescent) human growth and development trends.
5. Examine and evaluate current writings regarding similarities and differences among individuals and groups from culturally different heritages and identify critical variables that reflect cultural differences.

6. Use instruments and techniques for assessing interpersonal relationships as a guide to helping individuals and assist culturally different students to form positive, productive social relationships.
7. Demonstrate understanding and awareness of the affective domain as a major factor contributing to the optimal learning of children and adolescents.
8. Make evaluations in objective and verifiable terms of desired outcomes of intrapersonal and interpersonal behavior in educational settings.
9. Use appropriate verbal interaction classroom skills such as listening to pupils, giving pupils a chance to talk, providing clear and explicit directions in both languages, asking questions at all levels, using appropriate community language, and selecting a tone of voice appropriate to different settings.
10. Identify and utilize appropriate interaction assessment models, tools, and techniques (e.g., Flanders interaction technique and sociograms).
11. Make decisions about alternative instructional models and processes according to various descriptive stages of changing cultural, social, and educational environments.
12. Design and implement evaluation strategies in terms of process and product in the classroom.

D. Curriculum

Knowledge and understanding of specific and general curriculum variables and processes are necessary competencies of the bilingual teacher. The following competencies reflect this view. The trainee is expected to:

1. Develop a consistent philosophy relevant to bilingual education programs.
2. Demonstrate lessons in the major curriculum areas using both the dominant language and English as a media of instruction.
3. Translate specific subject matter sensitive to the cultural background of limited-English-speaking students into units of instruction.
4. Direct and supervise second-language instruction in a bilingual program.
5. Develop curriculum for the bilingual student.
6. Design curriculum and teaching strategies that utilize the content areas (i.e., social studies, science, and mathematics) to develop literacy in two languages.
7. Develop and use specific criteria to evaluate bilingual curriculum materials in terms of cultural suitability, pupil characteristics and needs, and cognitive and affective outcomes.
8. Design and carry out various types of research which assess units of curriculum and teaching materials in terms of expected outcomes.
9. Utilize the findings of research in the field to guide construction of decision-making regarding curriculum and school organization and

implementing programs of bilingual-bicultural education.

10. Participate in developing resource centers in bilingual-bicultural education in target schools and provide leadership in the development of curriculum necessary to implement bilingual-bicultural education programs.
11. Provide expert, in-depth, and innovative leadership in at least one standard school curriculum area (e.g., social science, mathematics, or language arts) in order to develop practical in-service education and meaningful supervision to other classroom teachers.
12. Comprehend the structure of English and the dominant language, the nature of linguistic change, socio-linguistic aspects of language acquistion, and the cultural aspects of different languages in contact.

E. Teaching Methodologies

The trainee is expected to:

1. Become aware of the different learning styles of children and develop the ability to match the teaching strategy to the learning style of the child.
2. Develop innovative techniques, effectively and appropriately, in the learner's language(s) in such content areas as the formulation of realistic performance objectives and their assessment; inquiry/discovery strategies; individualized instruction; learning centers; uses of media and audio-visual materials; systems approaches to the teaching of reading and mathematics skills; team-teaching and cross grouping; and interaction analysis.
3. Develop an awareness of the way in which the learner's culture should permeate significant areas of the curriculum.
4. Utilize first and/or second-language techniques in accordance with the learner's needs at various stages of the learning process.
5. Utilize effective classroom management techniques for optimal learning in specific situations.
6. Work effectively with paraprofessionals and other adults.
7. Identify and utilize available community resources in and outside the classroom.

F. Classroom Management

The trainee is expected to:

1. Develop appropriate management techniques for the bilingual classroom.
2. Develop knowledge of local environmental variables that affect the school, e.g., socio-economic, community values, and community structures.
3. Develop descriptions of various bilingual classroom organizational schemes.
4. Develop techniques for involving parent-community resources both in and outside of the classroom.
5. Develop techniques for the recruitment, training, and retention of

paraprofessional volunteers, and cross-age tutors as members of the instructional team.

6. Develop techniques for the identification of roles and functions of each member of the instructional team.
7. Develop descriptions of possible interaction patterns between paraprofessionals and teachers.
8. Develop plans for the management of instruction of large groups, small groups, and individuals.
9. Plan and conduct conferences with parents in Spanish and English.
10. Conduct group discussions and problem-solving in the classroom.

G. Linguistic Knowledge and Understanding

1. Psycholinguistics — The trainee is expected to:
   a. understand similarities and differences between language acquisition and development in the first and the second language.
   b. be aware of the developmental levels of language acquisition and their implications in the classroom.
   c. exhibit a positive bilingual-multicultural role model in interacting with learners.
   d. be aware of the differences in language learning at different age levels (child, adolescent, adult) and their implications in the classroom.
   e. demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the language and the self-concept of the individual.
   f. be able to recognize sequential processes of first and second language development and acquisition (e.g., listening, speaking, reading, and writing).
2. Sociolinguistics — The trainee is expected to:
   a. show the ability to recognize and accept the language variety of the home, and a standard variety, as valid systems of communication, each with its own legitimate functions and implications in the classroom.
   b. identify and understand regional and social variations in the learner's language and their implications in the classroom.
   c. be able to identify the various degrees of bilingual enculturation in the process of becoming bilingual.
   d. participate in the bilingual enculturation process at a level commensurate with the language proficiency of the learner.
3. Contrastive and Comparative Analysis — The trainee is expected to:
   a. be able to identify the areas of positive transfer between English and the target language (phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics).
   b. be able to identify the areas of linguistic interference between English and the target language (phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics).
   c. apply individual and group strategies to maximize positive transfer and to minimize interference.

Activities and Experiences to Achieve These Competencies

Some activities and experiences to help the trainee achieve the above stated competencies are: course work, readings, research, project planning, demonstrations, observations, field-based experiences (community and schools), project implementation, multimedia participation, simulated situations, student teaching, workshop participation, and conference participation. These activities and experiences should provide ample teacher interaction with members and students of the target language and culture of instruction.

Evaluation

Various approaches could be applied to determine the level of attainment of these competencies. The trainee could be assessed by instructors, supervisors, peers, and self by the following approaches:

1. Oral and written performance on course content for knowledge, comprehension, and application of skills
2. Criterion ratings on completed projects
3. Observational ratings
4. Participational ratings
5. Ratings by peers and others
6. Self-rating on an agreed set of criteria
7. Attitudinal ratings
8. Overall ratings (summative)
9. Comparison ratings with a control group to determine program impact

Figure 2 shows how the above approaches can be combined with competencies in a matrix for individual trainee and competence. Instead of competence areas, the specific competencies in any one of the areas could be listed. Under this plan, there would be seven forms for each trainee. Not all approaches would be used with all competencies. Such forms could be used as the basis for conferences with individual trainees.

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Figure 2

EVALUATION MATRIX

RATINGS

Name of trainee_____

Date_____

AREA OF COMPETENCY	PERFORMANCE TESTS	PROJECTS	OBSERVATIONS	PARTICIPATION	PEER RATINGS	SELF-RATINGS	ATTITUDE	OVERALL	COMPARISON (with control group)
Language Proficiency									
Sociocultural knowledge & understanding									
Psychopersonal knowledge & understanding									
Curriculum									
Teaching methodologies									
Classroom management									
Linguistic knowledge & understanding									

10

Communications, Education And Culture

Luis F. Rivera

There is only one subject-matter for education, and that is Life in all its manifestations.
Alfred North Whitehead

Interpreting culture is so difficult that it can be compared to looking at a virus with the naked eye on a moonless night.

WE ARE BOTH enjoying and suffering the consequences of technological advancement which, although not a recent phenomenon, is a rapidly accelerating one. When one compares the specific technological development of widely separated time periods, one is left with the comforting (or perhaps annoying) sensation that history repeats itself and that two thousand years have not been enough to change human nature. We still enjoy and suffer the consequences of our own doings.

The degree of enjoyment and suffering is different among subgroups within a given country and among countries throughout the world. The highest degree of suffering, in the writer's opinion, is evidenced by those who become enslaved by the products of culture. The number of technological gadgets distributed to all parts of the world is increasing in a geometric progression. The following factors contribute greatly to this enslavement:

1. The natural curiosity of people.
2. The economic benefits associated with the production and marketing of gadgets.
3. Developments in the area of transportation.
4. The utilization of mass-communications media.

The last item requires some exploratory analysis in order to search for potential applications in the areas of education and culture and in the study of human societies.

A cluster of technological objects (telegraphs, telephones, radios, telephotos, popular newspapers, periodicals, broadcasting, motion pictures, and television) is usually referred to as the mass-communications media.

These objects have created a situation in which cultural consequences must not be neglected. They have been neglected, however, both in potential and actual utilization of equipment or "hardware" and in the quality of messages or "software," in which there is much room for improvement. Most reliable surveys indicate that the majority of the people of the world (including those of totalitarian countries) are usually satisfied with the kind of mass communication available to them. This satisfaction has been attributed to the lack of alternatives to the communication they conveniently receive. It is also important to recognize that mass communication is but one facet of life for most individuals, whose main preoccupations center on the home and on daily employment.

Explicit definitions and theories of communication resulted from the present century's advances in science and technology. One of the first definitions of communications as a discrete human enterprise was proposed in 1928 by Ivor Armstrong Richards, a British literary critic and author:

Communication . . . takes place when one mind so acts upon its environment that another mind is influenced, and in that other mind an experience occurs which is like the experience in the first mind, and is caused in part by that experience. (p. 177)

The above definition can also be expressed in the form of the following question: WHO is saying WHAT to WHOM, in WHAT WAY, and with WHAT EFFECT? This question can be divided into the following components:

1. WHO: The source of information. For our purposes, this will be a single human being or a group of persons.
2. WHAT: The message. This implies the content or nature of the information.
3. WHOM: The particular listener or audience.
4. WHAT WAY: The combination of the communication channel and the particular way in which it is used to convey the message.
5. WHAT EFFECT: The experience, caused by the interaction of the above components that occurs in human participants.

The idea of interaction and feedback is a very important one because it gives meaning to the process of communication. "Feedback" is a construct derived from Norbert Wiener's studies in cybernetics. Interaction between human beings in conversation cannot function, according to this construct, without the sender's ability to weigh and calculate the apparent effect of his words on the listener. For the psychologist interested in communications, the modification of an individual's perception of reality is of fundamental interest. The agreement or disagreement of a communication with a person's cognitive structure affects both behavior and percep-

tion. Consequently, the major criterion for psychological analysis is neither the medium nor the message but the *expectation* of the person receiving the message.

Up to this point, the following issues have been stated:

1. Mass media technology has created, and continues to create, profound cultural changes throughout the world. We do not live with yesterday's definition of culture.
2. Most people seem to be satisfied with the kind of mass communications available to them. The interaction of lack of alternatives and concern for survival are important variables to consider in planning interventions.
3. If we take a look at communications, there are a series of components we need to consider in order to achieve a working definition. Feedback is one of the most neglected aspects of mass communications.
4. The expectation of the person receiving a message is extremely important in relation to his/her attention, perception, and the effect the intended message has.

In the United States, fewer newspapers currently serve more readers than ever before; three television networks are predominant; and a handful of book publishers produce the majority of best sellers. Despite these trends toward monopoly, however, specific mass medias are designed for specific populations. The author recently completed a survey on radio stations in the United States that broadcast ten or more hours per week in the Spanish language. The same survey can be conducted for printed materials and other outlets for the same group and/or other subgroups. Business and industry have been doing these types of surveys for years. In the meantime, educators have been using yesterday's definitions of education, forgetting perhaps, that education is part of a larger system called communications. This problem brings up the next subject of this paper: education.

Education, in its widest sense, may be thought of as the socialization process through which people learn a way of life. This social activity is made possible through a network of human relationships. The key word in education is learning. The process of learning goes beyond the simple connotations of "teaching" and "schools," which are merely elements of the system we call formal education.

One of the basic characteristics of systems is inertia, the resistance to change. For better or worse, school systems have a great degree of inertia. They also possess a quality similar to what is known as "homeostasis" in the biological sciences. Homeostasis has been defined as:

A tendency toward a stable state of equilibrium between interrelated physiological, psychological, or social factors characteristic of an individual or group. (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, Pocket Book Edition, 1974)

In simple terms, schools have a capacity to absorb changes or innovations

with little or no effect on the system as a whole. Inertia implies resistance to motion, action, or change. A simple question introduces this issue: Was the Sputnik I (launched October 4, 1957) or the formal education system the cause of curriculum changes in the natural sciences?

The National Council for the Social Studies has published *Guidelines for Multicultural Education*, October, 1976 that can be used to develop curricula aimed at promoting international understanding. This need has been recognized for many years. The sad reality is that little or nothing may be done about it. It will be hard to introduce change in the schools unless some kind of "socio-cultural Sputnik" upsets the inertia of the system.

Real life is the setting for the social studies. It is the arena in which we enjoy and suffer the consequences of the things we cluster in a category labeled "Self and Others Awareness." It is the source of expectations and a natural practice. Any particular group of people will challenge superficial generalizations in their quest for survival for meaning and for awareness. All cultures have their own education systems, often labeled "non-formal." For some groups, a high degree of congruency exists between the formal and non-formal education systems. Other groups exhibit little or no such congruency. Each group learns according to the particular social and communications network accessible to its members. Rafael Cortijo, a popular Puerto Rican musician, responded quickly to Sputnik I and recorded a song that made his audience think about the social and cultural implications of the event. Some of the lines read: *En que pararán, en que pararán las cosas; Los Rusos tiraron un satélite a la vuelta del mundo . . .* A conceptual equivalent in the English language is: *Where we'll go, what will come next; The Russians put a satellite to circle the globe . . .*

A political cartoon about current events in a daily newspaper may present a message more effectively than, say, a political essay. These days we communicate more and more with actual images. About 95 percent of all homes have television sets. In a recent issue of the *Smithsonian* (May, 1976), S. Dillon Ripley commented:

> *At the level of basic training in writing and literate skills I recommend, to counter the saturation level of television and its new mind-orientation toward objects — poppety-pop goes the toothpaste tube in Disney-like dances with the deodorant can — a new museum-like training using exhibits of objects associated with words to reinforce the learning process, just as Madame Montessori argued years ago. Perhaps museums* are *the new open university option for teaching.* (p. 6)

The need to popularize education challenges those looking for ways to accomplish necessary socio-educational changes. The term "popular" is not degrading; popularization will upgrade education with meaning and justice. The learner and the teacher are everywhere. We can survey the communications network already used by a particular social group before initiating changes aimed at the solution of a given set of problems.

A social network can be defined as a natural chain formed by individuals

communicating with other individuals. Let us explore this with an example. A teacher working in East Los Angeles, California, was having difficulties with the family members of her students involved in school activities. She tried to communicate with them through notes written in English and in Spanish, but these had very little effect. Rather than assuming that the families were simply not concerned about their children, she looked for a method of communication that made sense in that particular community. She observed which family members came to school. She also observed who brought the children in the morning and who picked them up after school. Rather than trying to approach the families at random, she began to work with these family members who were most school-oriented. She then asked them to involve the other family members. The assumption behind this approach was that people relate better to people than to impersonal memos. In convincing others, one convinces oneself. She put this hypothesis to a test and was not surprised to see that it worked.

The following points, then, can be added:

1. Education is a social function. It will not work to our advantage in considering it as solely institutional or as the exclusive function of the schools.
2. Formal institutions have a great deal of inertia and will resist change. Their tendency toward homeostasis will transform introduced changes to the extent that there will be little or no effect.
3. Particular groups in society respond to a communications network. Educators may not like the content of the current messages and may complain, but their best course of action is to use those effective means to deliver other messages. This approach is being used, but only minimally.
4. People are more concerned with the present and the future than with the past. We are using a concept of education and learning that is not satisfactory in view of the current situation. Today, many of the things that people had to learn in schools are now accessible elsewhere.

The role of schools will eventually shift from one of less direct instruction to one of more leadership in learning. This shift in emphasis will occur when we move from the "talking" stage of community and parental involvement to a "doing" stage that will eventually involve these forces. Such cooperation among all educative forces will be a major cultural change that will promote a better understanding among people.

This brings us to the final concern of this paper: the question of culture. On a recent trip to Central America, this writer had the opportunity to check someone's observations (labeled as fact) about the Quiché Indians of Guatemala. In a presumably intensive anthropological study of Chichicastenango, the local culture had been labeled as mysterious and resistant to "change," due to the pride of the people in their own century-old ways. It was argued, finally, by the researchers that these people should be left alone.

This writer visited Chichicastenango, and after making extensive obser-

vations, found a great difference between what was reported in the anthropological study and the reality as he perceived it of the culture of the Quiché.

Interpreting culture is so difficult that it can be compared to looking at a virus with the naked eye on a moonless night. In studying culture, we often emphasize isolated, meaningless details. Culture consists of intangibles and is highly dynamic. Yet "culture" is often used as a scapegoat to explain away political problems and social injustice. This is common in an age of euphemisms and distortions of language. In discussing culture, the following terms are often carelessly used (many times "parroting back" to what was written in a proposal to a funding agency):

1. *Minority*. Aren't we trying to say something else?
2. *Anglo*. Are we lumping together widely different people under this convenient term? Maybe insulting somebody? Aren't we trying to say something else?
3. *Assimilation*. Can assimilation be a two-way process? Aren't we trying to say something else?
4. *The hyphenated American*. Among other things, we are talking about the United States of America. America is the name of this entire continent. A Black from Cartagena, Colombia, is a Black-American; a Quiché from the town of Chichicastenango, Guatemala may want to say that he/she is an American-Indian, etc.

Any movement aimed at promoting understanding among people on a shrinking planet will be welcomed, except by those somehow threatened by its implications. If a transcultural education model can further accomplish this, we will be on our way to the fulfillment of a goal long recognized by many of the great thinkers of the world and by almost everybody who has not been labeled a "great thinker." The people of the world intuitively feel this need. Our task is to implement the thinking and feeling into action.

It takes courage to face the unfamiliar, to espouse the different; courage to fight one's own prejudices only less than those of others. Was it not a little child who first dared to call the emperor naked? . . . just as it did for Galileo to murmur among his inquisitors, "Yet the world does move."

Ralph Waldo Gerard
(1946, p. 499)

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11

New Directions For The Social Studies: A Transcultural View

Constance L'Aventure

The multicultural dimension of human social life and history should be addressed by every school's curriculum.

THE MULTICULTURAL dimension of human social life and history should be addressed by every school's curriculum. With the traditional proximity of ethnic groups in America and the growing interdependence of people of diverse cultures worldwide, it is critical that learners develop a realistic and expanded comprehension of cultural diversity. In the course of the 1960's, educators came to acknowledge the importance of ethnicity in American society and the need to help students develop a more sophisticated understanding of the distinct ethnic and cultural groups that make up human society.

It is important that this emphasis be developed in the public schools. This will prepare students for their emerging roles as world citizens embroiled in the intricate interdependencies of modern human affairs.

A relevant social studies curriculum that offers students an expanded range of experiences and an insight into both the commonality of human experience and the culturally determined differences and systems shall be considered transcultural.

Learning One's Own Culture

Each human being, more or less self-consciously, expresses a whole range of characteristic modes and values within a certain cultural milieu. As individuals mature, their culture progressively provides them with a fundamental range of perspectives, attitudes, and norms. To the degree that children assume and embody these, they become acculturated within their racial, ethnic, and religious traditions.

The cultural context of any particular human situation into which children are born has a certain form. This form is created by the coincidence of the various dimensions of human activity, such as language, social structuring, and the level of technology. These exist against the background of a natural environment, affording specific possibilities and implying certain

constraints on the human life within it.

Social forms and cultural traditions influence the feelings and thought processes of the child in certain ways. As the child gradually masters social and practical skills, these learned responses provide a tested, adequate "set of programs" for the routine conduct of everyday life.

Through acculturation, people learn to live within, manipulate, and interpret their environment in a particular set of ways. The patterns of a person's relationships to others is structured by a more or less elaborate social system, which perpetuates itself through generations by transmitting accepted values to each subsequent generation. Generally speaking, the educational process functions in human cultures as a "quasi-genetic factor," replicating sets of practical habits and skills together with a viable social structure requisite to the survival of the social group involved.

The Challenges Of Modern Technology

The development of modern technology, particularly in the fields of communication and transportation, has led to the introduction of unfamiliar social and cultural elements into every cultural area of the world, primarily by means of trade contacts and media.

Technology has not only created expanded commerce between far-flung groups of peoples, but has actually demanded material interchange among them if industrialization is to be maintained at its present momentum. Additionally, the spread of Western technologies throughout the world has had a profound impact on traditional economies.

The mass accessibility of worldwide communication channels and the particularly attractive nature of certain cultural media (e.g., films, records, television) have brought the nations and cultures of the world into a web of functional relationships and reciprocal influences. Over the long run, these inter-relationships can only grow more complex, perhaps tending towards homogeneity.

Need For New Directions In Social Studies

In this historically unique period of international cultural encounter, the development of new approaches to the teaching of social studies seems necessary if this subject area is to be of maximum service to students of the late twentieth century. Since the social community is the level at which most human contact occurs, the student's own region provides a natural laboratory for the development of new cultural perspectives.

Transcultural education, then, is the educational process that promotes the development of a more informed and comprehensive perspective on the part of students. It lays the conceptual and experiential basis for respect for the diversity of all peoples. This occurs through participation in activities that develop understanding of the fundamental similarities and the limited natural basis of differences among individuals and groups.

One aim of this transcultural approach is to provide seminal and lasting insights beyond the student's cultural frame of reference. In the course of transcultural education, such experiences accumulate, and the interaction among the elements of this backlog of cultural orientations defines the individual's complex "private culture." The goal is the expansion of "private culture" to a broad educated perspective transcending simple ethnocentricity, prejudice, and cultural limitations. This transcendence of culturally limited views is what such a program offers the individual participant.

The learner will come to recognize, use, and enjoy certain aspects of a range of cultures, ideally approaching a synthesis of chosen cultural elements and intuitively comprehending a wide range of cultural forms. At the same time, barriers impeding communication among individuals of different backgrounds will fade.

Teaching Strategies In Transcultural Education

The teaching strategies used to implement a transcultural curriculum model are highly important. Only strategies that enhance the content, achieve the objectives, and accommodate the individual learner should be considered. Effective strategies challenge the student by allowing interaction between the learner and the content. In this case, content consists of the specific multicultural elements of the student's own environment. Ethnic variety must be explicitly pointed out to the students. In this way, what all people have in common becomes clear in their everyday "reality." This "reality" enables students to give meaning to the content, thus modifying their behavior and changing their attitudes.

Attitudes and feelings are most often changed by experiences, real or vicarious, that have an emotional impact. Classroom activities such as role playing, simulations, and games pretend to place the student in a "real situation"; the outcomes, however, of such activities can be ineffective or even misleading. Traditional classroom activities (reading, discussion, answering questions) many allow for factual learning, but they do not ensure that learning will be internalized. A study of China and the Chinese people, for example, does not guarantee that the student will better understand either the people or their culture. Students may memorize an impressive list of facts and figures that describe unique aspects of Chinese life without ever changing their attitude towards the culture. They may never see the similarities between their way of living and those of the other culture's.

Community life, as a source of learning experiences, is often overlooked. A program that utilizes rich community resources cannot be reproduced in the classroom. The richness is derived from the inter-disciplinary nature and variety of experiences one encounters there. The experiences may include a series of interactions between the learner and another individual, between the learner and one or more institutions, or between the learner

and other facets of the environment. As an example, a student may interview the oldest living members of the community to gather data regarding changes in life styles over time. Ideally, the learner can bridge the gulf between generations, discover new sources of information, and recognize the similarities and differences among people. These interactions need not be limited to individuals but can also include institutions; e.g., the class may investigate political power in city government. The students' knowledge of the political process can yield further insights into social conduct.

Learning From Reality

In a community-oriented program, learners interact both with their own culture and with other cultures from a sheltered position. Students are able to test their knowledge and ideas without the risks taken when unsupported individuals attempt to "go it alone." Since the learners are part of a mutually supportive relationship with their class, exploratory approaches can be emphasized without frustrating the students. The successful encounter can be analyzed to ensure repetition, and errors can be studied to provide the basis for further improvement. The product of each episode provides input for the next trial. Through the mutual support of the group, learning takes place and negative attitudes are modified.

An example of such a program is found in Berkeley, California, where students organize an annual "cultural hunt." Groups of students prepare a plan which will introduce members of the class to a given culture. The planners must carefully observe the culture and select those experiences they deem representative and important. These are organized into an outline or summarized in a tape recording that the "hunter" follows. As students follow the prescribed route, they collect information and ideas. Thus, they can make significant contributions to their learning while clarifying their self-definitions.

Considerations In Implementing The Program

The curriculum designer and classroom teacher should seriously consider the following suggestions when developing and implementing a program for transcultural social studies.

1. The selection and organization of content does little to change patterns of attitudes and feelings. These objectives can only be achieved by the way in which the learning experiences are planned and conducted in the classroom. Because learning experiences play such an important role, the curriculum guides should be described in much greater detail than usual.
2. In order to develop autonomy of thought, students need opportunities to organize their own conceptual system and to develop skills for independent processing of information. Consequently, the learning experience should be planned to encourage learners to inquire, formulate their thoughts, develop their problem-solving techniques,

and test their ideas. The teacher must grant the learners the right to grapple with the learning process, even if the immediate results seem "rough."

3. It is imperative to recognize that students learn in multiple ways — from books, observation, discussion, and social encounters. Since we know little about individual learning styles, it is necessary and desirable to provide students with a wide range of learning experiences.
4. Generally, far more class time is spent on gathering knowledge than on applying that knowledge. Practical applications of knowledge provide experiences that guarantee the internalization of learning. If the learning experience is open-ended, encouraging divergent thinking and activities that vary in depth and kind, then a curriculum becomes more flexible. For example, comparisons and contrasts can be made on several levels of sophistication and in different cultural settings. If the learning experiences are flexible, they can accommodate heterogeneity in ability, background, and level of sophistication among students. There is no single answer when students are asked to characterize an ethnic group or behavior in a specific situation. Divergent responses, in fact, reduce stereotyping.

Summary

That the world is taking on certain characteristics of a "global village" is apparent. It remains to be seen, however, which of the wide variety of cultural features will be most widely adopted and which aspects of the divergent and colorful cultural variations will survive. No matter what future social, economic, or political conditions arise, basic characteristics of each cultural group will ideally survive among its people for generations to come. Transcultural education addresses the learner in individual terms helping to harmonize cultural elements and to provide a conceptual framework with which to interpret the many cultural forms encountered in the decades ahead.

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12

Fostering Transcultural Learnings In The Social Studies: Perspectives And Practices

Charlotte Crabtree

What is now widely proposed for students of all ethnic backgrounds is fuller consideration of the multi-ethnic, multicultural heritage of this nation.

Three Key Questions Considered In Social Studies

SOCIAL STUDIES, as a field, primarily asks three kinds of questions. The first is: *Why are things as they are?* or *How did they come to be?* Inquiries in this mode constitute a search for explanation and order.

This search for explanations is a challenging one. The social sciences, on which the social studies are based, are primarily concerned with the search for relationships. These inquiries usually require a quest for multiple causes and their interactions in understanding the probable causes of critical events. Good social studies teaching raises students to higher levels of cognitive thinking: to processes of *comparing and contrasting* multiple factors in a situation, of *analyzing* how one factor influences another, of *pulling all these relationships together into a comprehensive and valid synthesis* that explains how an event, problem, or injustice has come to be. Students may discover, for example, how economic factors as well as social attitudes may operate in cases of social injustice. Good teaching may explain the cultural values, as well as the technological skills and environmental resources, of how a people have interacted and developed as they have. Such analysis may also explain why a people direct their energies in ways different from one's own, or why they differ in outlook, on views of the "good life," and on attitudes toward material success.

A good curriculum for transcultural education will include a hearty menu of these higher level understandings and of the analytic skills by which they are tested, verified, and refined. Only through a search for the many inter-related factors operating in complex social situations will students acquire the hard data on which to base valid interpretations.

Beyond a search for understandings of current realities, the social studies are also concerned with value dilemmas, our second kind of question. In this case, the learner asks: *Are things the way they should be? Are they fair? Are they just? Are the consequences of public policy, or of personal choice, those I want to live with? What other options are there? Which do I choose? And what policy do I support?*

Going beyond policy or value inquiries, the social studies also support a third kind of inquiry, one leading to action. In this case, the learner asks: *Given this policy decision, how do I proceed?*

In considering the second and third questions, learners confront behavioral choices. Some value commitment must be made and some action must be taken, with the consequence that the learner's involvement is high. He must *act*. Traditionally, inquiries of these types have been developed under the rubric of problem-solving. Although they are not new, they are enjoying a major revival in secondary social studies teaching. In these activities, good social studies teaching engages students in the processes of values analysis and clarification, as well as in the problem-solving processes, which lead to informed decisions and strategies for effective action.

Good social studies programs in transcultural education will probably incorporate all three questions just considered. To understand one's cultural heritage within a pluralistic society requires understanding of the historical traditions, values, and experiences that constitute the unique, as well as shared, cultural core. Seeking those understandings requires inquiries leading to data on explanatory factors and valid syntheses reflecting their relative importance and their inter-relationships.

Beyond the development of these understandings, the social studies offer students important tools for formulating, testing, and refining personal value positions and policy stances on a host of problems confronting contemporary society. For example, students can analyze intergroup conflicts and public controversies, past injustices and current wrongs, policy proposals and avenues open for redress. Students can fashion and implement policy alternatives. These understandings, capabilities, skills, values analysis, case study methods, and policy mode inquiries are powerful instructional tools.

Incorporating Transcultural Materials Into United States History

In recent years, a variety of new instructional materials have been developed concerning issue analysis on a host of social, economic, and political problems confronting American society. Some of these materials are relevant to certain substantive issues with which a curriculum for transcultural learnings might be concerned. We will return to a number of these later. First, we shall examine the curricular settings in which these

and similar materials might be used.

A significant starting point for improving transcultural learning in high school curriculum is with a course in United States history. This is a bulwark offering, nationwide, in the high school social studies curriculum. Reviewing the adequacy of most current offerings in this field, as well as their instructional support systems, Professor Carlos Cortés (1974) finds a woeful lack of attention to the Chicano experience. This neglect is surprising in a nation whose history, almost from the beginning, is intimately tied by national boundary and blood to the nation of Mexico.

Cortés has proposed, therefore, a reorientation of the United States history course in order to broaden its almost exclusively monocultural focus and to expunge its effective, if unintentional, message of Mexican inferiority in those few instances when the subject of Mexico and its people appears. As a nation, he points out, Mexico is seldom mentioned in the high school history text "except when being defeated by the United States." Accounts of Chicano heroism, recognition of richness of cultural traditions, or appreciation of economic, literary, and aesthetic achievements are almost wholly lacking. Even current materials designed for intergroup understanding are deficient in their treatment of Mexico and its people.

What is now widely proposed for students of all ethnic backgrounds is fuller consideration of the multi-ethnic, multicultural heritage of this nation. To that end, the Chicano heritage can be viewed in a continuing, intimate relationship with the unfolding history of the United States. The Mexican war for independence and the northward migration and occupation of the Southwest, for example, parallels the war for independence of the English colonists and the westward migration of those early Anglo settlers and the hosts of immigrants who followed. An integrated study of these contemporaneous movements constitutes an indispensable perspective in understanding not only United States history but also problems touching the lives of many who are United States citizens today.

The opportunities for in-depth, contrastive analyses of the national experience in the settling of the nation (west from the Atlantic coast and north from Mexico) are numerous and significant, according to Cortés. The area which is now the Southwest (once a part of Mexico, and earlier a part of New Spain) was engaged, as were the eastern seaboard colonies, in a war for independence. This war, like the American Revolution, had its heroes. Eminent among these was Padre Miguel Hidalgo, father of Mexican independence, who in 1810 led a Mexican revolt against Spain. In a similar vein, Cortés demonstrates opportunities for paralleling the study of Paul Revere's ride with that of Ignacio Allende, whose longer, more trying journey was made to warn Padre Hidalgo of the Spanish discovery of the independence plot. Cortés also suggests important opportunities for paral-

leling studies of the great westward treks to the trans-Appalachian and trans-Mississippi West with the dramatic northward treks of Juan de Oñate, Juan Bautista de Anza, and Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino in the settlement of Mexico's northern territories.

These studies, of course, are only preludes. Students also need adequate resources for the in-depth and contrastive study of the social, economic, political, and cultural patterns that evolved in each of these contrasting regions over the years. The economic development of the trans-Appalachian West, its cultural traditions, concepts of law, practices in land acquistion, and relationships with indigenous populations for example, should be compared with the economic development of Mexico's northern territory, with its developing settlements and societies, its cultural traditions (rooted both in the Indian civilizations of Mexico as well as in Hispanic culture), its concepts of law and political organization, its land grant system, and its relationships with the indigenous populations. United States history, as taught in the schools, fails to develop this dual perspective. It fails to help students understand that when the westward-moving hunters, trappers, miners, ranchers, and settlers from the United States entered Mexican territory, they found a highly developed society incorporating both Indian and Hispanic traditions, which had established agricultural, ranching, and mining economics in a region of somewhat adverse climatic and geomorphological characteristics.

These understandings provide essential background for the students' critical analysis of the initial movement of Anglo-American trappers, hunters, and traders into the Mexican territory. They explain the origin of conflicts in values, traditions, laws, and social institutions provoked by Anglo-American settlers who entered this region. The legacy of hatred was evoked by the events of the Mexican-American War and by efforts toward cultural assimilation of people who saw themselves as a conquered nation living in an occupied homeland.

Resources To Enrich Transcultural Education

To build understanding of this era, students need a variety of authoritative resources that plumb these events in depth. Their antecedents, their consequences, and the multiple views of on-the-scene observers need to be studied, as well as the views given of today's authorities of this historical period.

A data bank of selected background readings, primary documents, study prints, and filmstrips covering the events of these periods, from more than one cultural perspective, would be a valuable resource and would provide support for a number of student activities in the contrastive analysis of these cultures.

Such resources would make possible the: (1) development of a two- or even three-channeled timeline, starting from pre-Columbian time, on

which specific events in the dual development of the two nations could be appropriately located and compared; (2) development of role playing and simulation of events by students in order to bring alive the historical events and to foster students' understanding of the problems and identification with the figures involved; and (3) development of a historical newspaper, created by the students, carrying their in-depth analyses of the events of a particular day, viewed from more than one reporter's perspective, and containing editorials with persuasive arguments based on historical facts.

The data bank might include appropriately scaled-down photo copies of political cartoons, territorial maps, lithographs, or on-the-scene artists' renderings of events, which students might clip and use in preparing their papers. (Inspired students will, of course, supplement these resources by creating their own.)

Use of supportive resource materials would be particularly important in participating, albeit vicariously, in these cultures and analyzing what it was like to have lived with the cultural values and world-view of these people. Literature, dance, drama, and the arts all provide powerful and moving teaching resources. Newer among such resources are those derived from the field of ethnomusicology — a field concerned with the study of the inherent relationships between the musical expressions of a people, their cultural values, and life style. Recent studies on cross-cultural learnings (i.e., Binnington, 1973) have explored the impact on students' attitudes and appreciations of other cultures once ethnomusicological resources were richly and authentically made available to them. The evidence is strong that these resources open dimensions in cross-cultural understandings and appreciations tapped in no other way.

Supportive materials for student use of resource materials in values analysis would also be important. The culminating event of this era, the war with Mexico, was a controversial decision. A prototype approach for this analysis is available in the well-received and now widely adopted Public Issues Series (Oliver and Newmann, 1971). The purpose of this approach is to help students analyze and discuss persisting human dilemmas related to public issues. The instructional strategy is the analysis of public controversy, presented through well-documented case studies, in which the following processes are incorporated:

1. Identifying the issue, whether *prescriptive* (judgments concerned with the legitimacy of actions and policy); *descriptive* (problems of describing, interpreting, and explaining the facts and circumstances involved); or *analytic* (problems of meaning or of one's definition of the problem itself);
2. Defining terms and making distinctions;
3. Clarifying and justifying alternative positions; and
4. Evaluating the evidence (on the basis of how reliable, valid, or

representative it is) and evaluating one's position (on the basis of supporting evidence, its consistency, its useful definitions of ambiguous terms, its sensitivity to the test of analogous cases, and its responsiveness to the full complexity of the issue).

While an issue can be explored by classroom discussion alone, it is often preferable to support students' greater involvement in the issue by providing opportunity for role-playing episodes. This approach enables students to explore and "try on" alternative viewpoints, as well as to sense what it is like to enter into situations not normally encountered in one's own life, time, or social status. Encouraging students to research and formulate personal "position papers," before or after the discussion, is another means of further personalizing the experience and encouraging each student to take a stance and rigorously defend it.

For all these activities, a variety of documents, narrative accounts of "episodes," and other authoritative materials is required. In the case of materials on the legitimacy of the war with Mexico, these might include descriptions of critical confrontations before the war. Other topics are debates in Congress and in the press, incorporating positions both in support of and in opposition to the morality of the war; a case study of Thoreau's act and essay on "Civil Disobedience"; Greeley's antiwar editorial in *The New York Times;* and Senator Corwin's eloquent dissent on the floor of Congress. Each is well-focused and establishes limits to the scope of admissible evidence on an issue of considerable complexity.

History Of The Southwest After 1848

To understand the Chicano experience following 1848 requires that students take a comparative view. The history of the Southwest can, perhaps, best be understood in national, if not international, perspective. Social studies, we noted earlier, involves students in a quest for explanatory relationships. What, then, explains why the Mexican settlers of this region, despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, were largely unsuccessful in maintaining their land titles or sustaining economic equity in this region? And, why did large numbers of Mexican families, migrating into this region following upheavals of the Mexican Civil War, become employed as migrant laborers, a status that persisted for some one hundred years?

To answer these questions, students must have access to data concerning significant economic changes occurring in the United States at that time. The nation was in a period of rapidly growing dominance by Northern industrial capital over the slave economy of the rural South. It was a period of rapid industrial development made possible by the dramatic expansion of international markets and by the development of its natural and industrial resource base. Within fifty years following the war with Mexico, United States trade surpassed that of every nation in the world except England.

Within those fifty years, the United States emerged as a major, if not uncontested, leader of world capitalism.

No small part of that growth rested on the annexation and rapid development of the land, labor, and natural resources of the northern territories of Mexico. This region encompasses no less than one half the total land resources of the Mexican nation and constitutes the present-day states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Nevada, and California. The availability of a large and proportionately inexpensive labor force was no small factor in the economic transformation of this vast region to a commercial-agricultural empire, as well as its conversion to the vast "mineral-transport-communications" network required for the coming industrial development of this region.

Students can perhaps most easily explore these relationships in the example of the early development of the commercial agricultural activities of the Southwest. The industrial development of the North required a mounting migration to the cities, which, in their increased demand for food, constituted a growing, high-demand market for the products of large-scale commercial farming. Coincidental with this demand came the invention of the refrigerated railroad car and new food canning technologies, developments that brought eastern and northern cities within easy reach of commercial agriculture in the Southwest. Southern California boomed. Commercial growers throughout the West invested heavily in irrigation and reclamation of arid lands.

Large migrations of families from Mexico, uprooted by the chaos of their civil war, furnished a skilled and available labor force for the vast agricultural regions of the territory. No understanding of the Chicano experience is valid without insight into the employment of farm laborers in the fields, the migratory nature of such work, the isolation from Anglo-American society, the twelve to fourteen hours a day in the fields, and the legislated and covert practices of segregation in housing and in schooling. No understanding of the moving spirit in social-political action programs of La Raza today is possible without understanding the half century of widespread isolation of Chicanos from the political process. This was due, in part, to voting requirements such as literacy tests and the timing of primary elections while eligible voters were following the harvests. These conditions prevailed until the California farm labor organizational movement of the 1960's. Then the social-political action programs of the Delano farm workers brought real benefits to farm workers.

Interesting instructional materials, covering the events of these years, are plentiful. The history of migratory agricultural workers should be related throughout to the labor history of Chicanos at work in the mines, on rail transportation, and, with their increased migration north, in the steel and auto plants, packing plants, and tanneries of the Midwest (Rosales and

Simon, 1975). These developments should be related throughout to the growth of the labor movement as a whole in the United States. The comparative approach is particularly viable here, for the early and contemporary controversies (over labor organization, interests of union organizers and of management, peaceful negotiations and violent confrontations, strikes, boycotts, and strike breaking) and their influences on a half century of national labor legislation are all well illustrated by dramatic events in the Chicano experience.

Of current significance, for example, is the story of the copper miners' strike in Arizona, first called in 1915 to rectify wage discrimination against Chicano miners but resolved finally in 1946 with the support of the National War Labor Board. Or, consider the on-going history of farm labor organization in California under Cesar Chavez' leadership — a contemporary example with rich possibilities for students' role playing, values analysis, and decision making. This is an issue that presents the opportunity to examine and decide a personal stand on such value-laden and controversial practices as the United Farm Workers' boycott of non-union grapes.

Social studies experiences in these areas could be enriched by a set of documents, films, and open-ended case study readings, focusing attention on the persistent problems of the labor movement in the United States. These materials could raise such questions as the following: What are the legitimate grievances workers have against their employers? By what methods should workers influence public (government) and private (management) policies to obtain their just ends? What rights should management have in the protection of its interests? What conflicts are likely to occur? What restrictions should there be on labor's rights to obtain its interests? What restrictions should there be on management's power over the workers? Who speaks for the "public interest?" What are the best ways, given the interests of all parties concerned, to resolve labor disputes?

Education In The Political Process And Political Realities

Most significantly, students might engage in vital transcultural lessons concerning United States constitutional history, civil rights, and the political process. While these learnings can be included in the history course, a more appropriate setting would be the high school government or civics offering.

The traditional civics program, as García (1973) has stated, is often dysfunctional for youth, and particularly so for Chicanos. The central problem he cites is the false picture of political reality portrayed by too many of these programs. Emphasizing the normative, the ideal, and the static description of political institutions, these programs are viewed as largely irrelevant by Chicano youth. These programs, for example, lack an

emphasis on political process and on the analysis of conflict and conflict resolution, which is the central interest in political science today. Similarly, by its exclusive stress on the significance of one's individual vote, traditional civics teaching has tended to ignore, if not actually deplore, those legitimate processes by which interest groups may exert their strongest impact on policy makers. For minority members, these considerations are important and, incidentally, are being used increasingly as the result of leadership efforts of such interest organizations as the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and political parties such as La Raza Unida.

García's reasoning is widely supported by those political scientists and legal scholars who have contributed to the restructuring of political education in order to bring new school programs in tandem with new knowledge of political behavior and of the socialization process. It is to these new programs, then, that curriculum designers for transcultural learnings might look. While we cannot examine in depth what the parameters of such a curriculum should be, a few guidelines can be presented.

It is imperative to recognize the high degree of political alienation among Chicano adolescents. García (1974) found no significant differences between Anglo and Chicano children in California in terms of their trust in government. Chicano children, however, were found to feel greater futility than Anglo children about their chances of exerting influence on their government and to be less motivated to participate in elections. By adolescence, and particularly in the case of low socio-economic status (SES) youth, Chicano subjects demonstrated a "tremendous depressive influence" in their level of confidence in government, together with a marked cynicism and alienation. Belief in the significance of the vote, on the other hand, was relatively strong. García noted this with some surprise since, until recently, California's election code disenfranchised those illiterate in English. Accordingly, parents who were effectively disenfranchised might have been expected to transmit to their children their sense of estrangement from the political process.

Evidence showed that only one-fourth of the Chicano ninth graders sampled expressed the belief that citizens could influence their government. Relatively low political efficacy was also perceived by middle SES ninth graders, who showed a marked decline from the perceived level of efficacy reported by middle SES seventh graders. Interestingly, low SES ninth graders demonstrated some increase in feelings of efficacy as compared with seventh graders; however, their overall attitude was still one of significantly lower belief in one's power to influence government than that of Anglo subjects.

Given these attitudes, what should a high school curriculum focus upon in terms of improved political education programs for youth? The following suggestions are offered in the hope they will generate discussion and yield

innovations for field testing and evaluation:

1. Draw upon existing, authoritative programs in the study of contemporary issues on justice and supplement them with case studies of particular relevance to Chicano youth. Outstanding among these sources is the Law In A Free Society Project of the California State Bar Association, conducted in cooperation with the School of Law of the University of California, Los Angeles and UCLA Extension (1972). Concepts and inquiries central to the program include: justice and injustice; institutions, processes, and procedures under the Constitution designed to establish, preserve, and promote justice; factors accounting for inevitable gaps between the ideal and the reality of justice; means of coping with the gap, and probable consequences of the failure to do so. Case readings are largely taken from the courts. They include: issues of school segregation; tacking systems in the high school, discrimination in employment; welfare, search, arrest, and detention procedures; and fair trial, penalties, and punishment. One suggestion for making these studies more relevant to Chicano youth is to include among the readings the 1945 case history of *Mendez vs. the Orange County Board of Education* in California, a suit filed to challenge segregation of Chicano students, and settled in favor of the plaintiff when the Court ruled that segregation violated individual rights under the fourteenth amendment. This case set a precedent which the United States Supreme Court drew upon in reaching its landmark 1954 decision of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*.
2. Draw upon existing, authoritative programs for the study of substantive and procedural rights, under the United States Constitution, and supplement them, again, with case studies bearing particular relevance to Chicano youth. Among a number of programs currently available for Bill of Rights education is the Teacher's Guide and Students' Case Book of Readings, entitled *Your Rights and Responsibilities as an American Citizen* (Quigley, 1967).

   Incorporated in these case studies are documents and court cases through which students can explore the origins, protections, and implications of such major guarantees as: liberty under law, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, equal protection under the law, and due process of law. The teaching mode is inquiry, with readings and discussions centered on such issues as: Should everyone have the same voting rights? Should an employer be required to give all applicants an equal chance to get the job? Should the police have the right to stop and search you if they think you look suspicious? Should you have the right to ask people to disobey laws they think are unfair? Resource materials provide the perspective for plumbing these and other issues in depth, particularly in those cases where more than one

right is involved, and potentially in conflict.

3. Draw upon existing, authoritative programs in the study of conflict and conflict resolution, and supplement them with case study readings of particular relevance to Chicano youth. Outstanding among materials now on the market is the text, *Conflict, Politics, and Freedom* (Quigley and Longaker, 1968).

   The introductory unit in this program helps students understand political processes in a constitutional democracy; the functions of a constitution; the responsibilities of political leaders and of citizens within the system; the nature of dispute, contention, and conflict; as well as the "necessity for bringing laws and governmental processes to bear in dealing with differences of opinion and interest."

   Succeeding case studies facilitate discussion of the sources, functions, limits on, and management of conflict in society. Incorporated in these studies are readings, largely drawn from the courts, on such matters as: job discrimination, labor-management disputes, fair trial procedures, individual voting rights, election procedures, and the use of force in the control of conflict.

4. Develop case studies that permit analysis of political processes and incorporate, among those studies, instances of effective Chicano political action. Included among these studies might be (a) an analysis of political processes in the Kennedy-Nixon election of 1960, including the active voter registration drives in Chicano communities and their effects, which demonstrated to political analysts the significance of the Chicano vote. (It was conceded, for example, that the Kennedy-Johnson ticket couldn't have carried Texas without Chicano support, and that henceforth the Chicano vote would be important and actively sought); or (b) the example of the 1970 election in Crystal City, Texas, when an organized voter drive and intensive organizational activities, under the leadership of José Angel Gutierrez, led to the election of La Raza Unida Party candidates to the Crystal City Board of Education and City Council, and the election of two mayors in the Winter Garden area.

Common to many of the newer political education programs reviewed above is the teaching strategy of open inquiry and, with older students, the Socratic method. Both provide opportunity for students to confront controversial issues, to examine alternative-value assumptions and their consequences, to formulate and justify a personal position on issues, and, over time, to clarify and refine a personally held system of values. By confronting students with persistent, authentic dilemmas, these programs seek to develop the understandings and tolerance needed to grapple with complex realities. By having students actively examine and reach policy decisions, these programs seek to enhance the student's sense of political efficacy and

participation in the political process. By stressing a realistic view of the political system, these programs seek to reduce student feelings of alienation and cynicism and to develop the skills for participating effectively in those political processes.

These ends are relevant to a curriculum for transcultural learnings. The central aim of transcultural education, defined earlier in this book by Hamblin, is development of the self-actualizing, efficacious individual who is accepting of self, open to life's challenges, and actively responsive to them. Similarly, the means employed — inquiry, values analysis, and decision-making — would seem especially relevant to those ends. Implicit in the teacher's use of these instructional methods is respect for the autonomous learner, belief in the student's potential for coping productively with problem situations, and confidence in taking reasoned, intelligent action on the basis of a consistent value system.

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Ethnicity: Implications For Curriculum Development And Teaching

James A. Banks

I am concerned primarily with changing the total curriculum to reflect the role of ethnicity . . . and validly describe ethnic cultures in our society.

IN RECENT YEARS, vigorous efforts have been made by schools and colleges to implement ethnic studies programs. Most of these programs were created in response to demands made by ethnic minorities who felt that their cultures were either distorted or omitted from the school curriculum.

The earliest and most vigorous demands for ethnic studies programs came from Afro-Americans and derived from the Black civil rights movement of the 1960's, a fight unprecedented in their history. Blacks tried to gain control of their schools and communities in order to shape a new identity (Banks and Grambs, 1972). Keenly aware of how deeply written history influences people's perspectives, they demanded an interpretation of Afro-American history which would enhance their image in the larger society and help their children to develop more positive self-concepts. They called for the inclusion of more Black heroes in school books and the elimination of textbooks they considered racist.

Other alienated ethnic minorities, such as Mexican-Americans, Puerto Rican-Americans, and Native Americans, followed the pattern set by Afro-Americans. They, too, demanded ethnic heritage programs which would reflect their cultures, aspirations, and political goals (Acuña, 1973; Cordasco and Bucchioni, 1972; and Forbes, 1973). Oppressed by the larger society, they maintained that their plight in society was not taught by the schools. Some common threads ran through the complaints and expressions of these ethnic groups. Most of them stressed ways in which they were colonized peoples, victims of discrimination and racism, politically powerless, and miseducated. They believed ethnic studies programs

would enhance their group's self-perceptions and contribute to their economic, political, and psychological liberation.

The call for ethnic studies programs spread widely. White ethnic groups, such as Polish-Americans, Italian-Americans, and Jewish-Americans, demanded ethnic studies programs (Herman, 1974). In some communities, white ethnic groups and non-white minorities competed aggressively for the limited resources allocated to ethnic studies programs.

Ethnic studies programs in most school districts and colleges reflected the political and social demands made within local communities. Often responding to crises, educators devised ethnic studies programs without giving serious thought to the basic curricular changes needed. Thus, hurriedly formulated ethnic studies programs now exist in most schools and colleges. The overriding consideration was to create programs to meet the demands of militant ethnic students and faculty. Consequently, most of the current ethnic studies programs are parochial, fragmented, and without clear rationales.

Typically, school ethnic studies programs focus on the specific ethnic group that is dominant in the local school population. In schools that are predominantly Mexican-American, there may be courses in Chicano studies, but none that will help students learn about the problems and heritages of other ethnic groups.

Need For Broadening of Ethnic Studies and Ethnic Modification of The Total Curriculum

Specialized ethnic studies courses will be necessary as long as ethnic minorities have unique intellectual, psychological, and political needs and are excluded from full participation in the larger society. Curriculum specialists, however, have rarely seen the need to go beyond such courses, which are usually offered as electives. They seldom infuse the total curriculum with ethnic content, experiences, and perspectives.

In this essay, I am concerned primarily with changing the total curriculum to reflect the role of ethnicity in American life and validly describe ethnic cultures in our society. If this is desirable, and I feel strongly that it is, then specialized ethnic heritage courses are grossly insufficient. Such courses, not offered in most predominantly Anglo schools, tend to emphasize isolated facts about ethnic heroes. They do not help students to develop valid comparative concepts about ethnicity in the United States. They are based on the indefensible assumption that only students from ethnic minorities need to study ethnic minority history and culture.

We need to make some different assumptions about ethnic studies programs and to broaden our working definition of ethnicity. Ethnic studies programs must reflect current research and theory about the nature of learning. All students need to develop a minimal level of *ethnic literacy* and to understand the role of ethnicity in American life (Banks, 1975a,

1975b, and 1976).

White students, whether they live in a wealthy suburb or in the heart of Appalachia, should learn about the suffering experienced by the Native Americans when they were pushed from their lands east of the Mississippi to the Indian Territory* in the 1800's. The shocking and dehumanizing internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II should also be taught. Afro-American students, as well as Puerto Rican-Americans, ought to know that when the Statue of Liberty was dedicated in 1886, nativism was rampant in the United States against Catholics and against Southern and Eastern European immigrants. In fact, Emma Lazarus' poetic words, "Give me your tired, your poor . . . " fell on deaf ears.

American institutions were created by the sweat and toil of peoples from many foreign nations. Because of this, students cannot understand the complexity of American history without studying about the ways in which *ethnic* conflicts and struggles influenced its development. Most students study American history but few of them are exposed to ethnic content in any meaningful way. School history consists primarily of the agreed-upon myths which are perpetuated by the school and the larger society (Clegg and Schomburg, 1968).

An Expanded Definition of Ethnicity

Reconceptualizing and broadening the working definition of *ethnicity* will facilitate the development of ethnic studies programs and experiences, which are more consistent with current sociological research and learning theory. Most curriculum specialists have equated an *ethnic* group with an *ethnic minority group*. Consequently, they have considered *ethnic* studies to be *ethnic minority* studies. We can clarify the differences between these two groups and consequently these two types of programs.

Individuals who constitute an ethnic group share a sense of group identification, a common set of values, behavior patterns, and other cultural elements that differ from those of other groups within the society. A sense of common identity is probably the most essential characteristic of an ethnic group. Glazer and Moynihan (1975) point out that ethnic groups in contemporary society are often economic and political interest groups. If this sociological definition of an ethnic group is accepted, then almost all Americans can be considered members of ethnic groups (Anderson, 1970). Not only are Italian-Americans, Greek-Americans, and Polish-Americans members of ethnic groups, but so are Anglo-Saxon Protestants and Irish-Americans.

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*The eastern part of present-day Oklahoma was set aside for Indian settlement when Indians were forced from the East in the 1800's because this territory was considered uninhabitable by Whites. This region became known as Indian Territroy. See Edward H. Spicer, *A Short History of the Indians of the United States* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1969).

An *ethnic minority* group, on the other hand, is an ethnic group with several distinguishing characteristics. Like an ethnic group, an ethnic minority group shares a common identity, set of values, and behavior patterns. Its members, however, have unique physical and/or cultural characteristics. Persons who belong to dominant ethnic groups can thus easily identify them and treat them in a discriminatory way. Ethnic minorities are usually politically powerless.

A Comparative Approach to Ethnic Studies

Ethnic studies programs must be expanded to include the experiences of many different ethnic groups. These should include Anglo-Saxon Protestants, Irish-Americans, Greek-Americans, Italian-Americans, as well as ethnic minority groups. Such ethnic studies programs would more accurately reflect the sociological meaning of ethnicity. Students could develop concepts, generalizations, and theories about ethnic groups, which, in turn, would help them become more effective decision-makers in contemporary society. Researchers and curriculum theorists have pointed out that students must study more than one content sample or group in order to develop valid concepts and generalizations (Taba, 1966). Conclusions based on study of only one sample or group are mere summary statements. To formulate valid generalizations about a concept such as *immigration*, students must consider the experiences of diverse immigrant groups, e.g., the French Huguenots in the 1600's, the Chinese in the 1800's, and the Filipinos in the 1920's.

Broadly conceptualized ethnic studies programs have other advantages. Students are able to develop more sophisticated understandings of the complex nature of ethnicity in the United States when they *compare* and *contrast* the experiences of different ethnic groups. Students who study only Native Americans, for example, and learn of the atrocities against them (e.g., the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864 and the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890) might reach invalid conclusions about violence and ethnicity in America. Unless they study the experiences of other groups (e.g., the widespread lynching of Afro-Americans around the turn of the century, the eleven Italian-Americans who were lynched in New Orleans in 1891, and the nineteen Chinese who were killed by a mob in Los Angeles in 1871), they may conclude that the experiences of Native American groups bear little resemblance to those of other ethnic groups in the United States.

Using a comparative approach, students can correctly conclude that no ethnic group has been the sole victim of atrocities, racism, and dehumanization in the United States. In studying ways in which various ethnic groups have been victimized, the teacher should avoid the "Who has had it the worst?" approach. This approach to a comparative study of ethnic groups will result in superficial conclusions. Individual and group re-

sponses to bigotry and oppression are too complex for easy comparisons to be made.

Sensitive, informed teachers, however, *can* help students reach valid generalizations when they are comparing the experiences of ethnic groups. For example, the French Huguenots, the Scotch-Irish, the Irish, and the Italians experienced much discrimination in America. But the rejection experienced by white ethnic groups has usually not been as extreme or permanent as it has been for non-white ethnics. When they have attained "sufficient" levels of assimilation and social mobility, white ethnic groups have usually been permitted to join the mainstream. However, non-white groups, such as Afro-Americans and Mexican-Americans, are often excluded even when they have become culturally indistinguishable from the most acculturated Anglo-Americans. Teachers should point out that both white and non-white ethnic individuals who become highly assimilated do so at a tremendous psychological cost for denying their ethnic heritages. The non-white's problems are especially acute, since that individual may not be fully accepted by the group whose cultural characteristics have been painfully acquired.

An Interdisciplinary Conceptual Approach To Ethnic Studies

Ethnic studies programs should draw upon the various disciplines so that students can understand the complex nature of ethnicity in contemporary society. In many ethnic studies programs, emphasis is placed on facts, events, and deeds of ethnic heroes. These types of experiences use ethnic content but with what Cuban (1972) has called "white instruction" or traditional teaching methods. Isolated facts about Cripus Attucks don't stimulate the intellect any more than do discrete facts about Thomas Jefferson or Betsy Ross. The emphasis in sound ethnic studies programs must be on concept attainment, value analysis, decision-making, and social action. Facts should be used only to help students attain higher-level concepts and skills.

Concepts taught in ethnic studies should be selected from several disciplines and appropriately viewed from the perspectives of social science, humanities, science, and mathematics (Banks, 1975a; Gay, 1975). Since one discipline gives students only a partial understanding of problems related to ethnicity, they need to view ethnic events from the perspectives of several disciplines. Students can attain a global perspective by examining the expressions of ethnic cultures in literature, music, drama, dance, art, sports, communication, and foods. Science and mathematics should also be included in an interdisciplinary study of ethnic cultures.

In literature, students can read such novels as *Farewell to Manzanar*, *House Made of Dawn*, and *Bless Me Ultima* (Houston, 1973; Momaday, 1968; and Anaya, 1972). They can determine the ways in which these

novels are similar and different and analyze what the novels reveal about the cultures of Japanese-Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican-Americans. In music, the class can listen to and discuss songs from such musicals as *West Side Story* (Bernstein and Sondheim, 1958) and *Don't Bother Me, I Can't Cope* (Grant, 1972). The students can try to determine whether these songs are valid expressions of Puerto Rican-American and Afro-American cultures, and what they reveal, or do not reveal, about these cultures.

In drama, the students can dramatize the epic poem, *I am Joaquin*, and discuss how this drama expresses Chicano history, contemporary life, and culture (Gonzales, 1967). They can also dramatize the theater vignette, "Mother and Child" by Langston Hughes (1972) and discuss what it reveals about Afro-American life and culture. Learning the dances that Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and other ethnic groups have contributed to American life and culture can provide further enrichment. Students can then discuss how ethnic cultures are expressed and revealed through dance. They can perform ethnic dances in a school assembly program.

In art, the students can examine the works of painters such as Jacob Lawrence, Charles White, and Roberto Lebrón, determining ways in which these and other artists are influenced by and express their ethnicity through their art. The language arts can focus on the ways in which symbols and communication styles differ between and within ethnic groups and how they have influenced standard American English.

While studying home economics, the students can prepare such dishes as sweet and sour pork, baked lasagna, sukiyaki, beef enchiladas, and ham hocks and black-eyed peas (*Favorite Mexican Cookin'*, 1972; "International Cookery," 1963; *The Tuesday Soul Food Cookbook*, 1969). They can try to determine what these foods reveal about their respective cultures and how each group satisfies the universal need for food. The different versions of a "balanced diet" can also be studied.

In mathematics, students can study our base ten and other number systems, discussing ways in which the number system reflects the culture in which it develops. They can also learn about contributions that various ethnic groups have made to our number system.

Concepts such as socialization, poverty, conflict, and power can also be analyzed and studied from an interdisciplinary perspective, although it is impossible to teach each concept from the perspectives of all disciplines. Such an attempt, in fact, might result in superficial learning by students. The excellent opportunities that do exist should be fully explored and used, keeping in mind that interdisciplinary teaching requires the strong cooperation of teachers in the various content areas. Team teaching will often be necessary, especially at the high school level, to organize and implement interdisciplinary units. (Table 1 summarizes my example of teaching cul-

ture from an interdisciplinary perspective; Figure 1 illustrates the process.)

Ethnic Studies: A Process of Curriculum Reform

I have argued that ethnic studies should be broadly conceptualized, comparative, conceptual, and interdisciplinary. (See Figure 2.) Ethnic studies should also be viewed as a process of curriculum reform, which will result in the creation of a new curriculum, based on new assumptions and perspectives. It should help students gain novel views of their experiences and a new conception of what it means to be a citizen of the United States. (See Figure 3.) Since the predominantly English colonists gained control over most economic, social, and political institutions early in our national history, "to *Americanize*" has been interpreted as meaning "to *Anglicize*," especially during the height of nativism in the late 1800's and early 1900's (Gay and Banks, 1975). This concept is still widespread within our society today. Thus, when we think of the history and literature of the United States, we tend to think chiefly of Anglo-American history and the works of Anglo-American authors.

Reconceptualizing American Society

Emphasis on Anglo-American aspects of our culture is so deeply ingrained in the minds of many students and teachers that we cannot significantly change the curriculum by merely adding an occasional lesson or unit about Afro-American, Mexican-American, Jewish-American, or Italian-American history. Rather, we need to seriously examine the conception of "American" that is perpetuated in the curriculum, and therefore the basic purposes and assumptions of school curriculum.

It is imperative that we totally reconceptualize the ways in which we view the history and culture of the United States in the school curriculum. We should teach about events and situations from diverse ethnic perspectives, rather than primarily from the points of view of Anglo-American historians and writers. Most courses are now taught primarily from Anglo-American perspectives; these courses are based on what I call the *Anglo-American-Centric Model* or MODEL A (See Figure 3.) Ethnic studies, as a process of curriculum reform, can and often does proceed from MODEL A to MODEL B, the *Ethnic Additive Model*. In courses and experiences based on MODEL B, ethnic content is an additive to the major curriculum thrust, which remains Anglo-American dominated. Many school districts have implemented MODEL B types of curriculum changes. Black Studies courses, Chicano Studies courses, and special units on ethnic groups in the elementary grades are examples of MODEL B types of curricular experiences.

I am suggesting that curriculum reform proceed directly from MODEL A to MODEL C, the *Multi-ethnic Model*. In courses and experiences based

on MODEL C, students analyze events and situations from several ethnic points of view. Anglo-American perspectives are only one of several; they are not viewed as superior or inferior to other ethnic perspectives. I view MODEL D (the *Multinational Model)* as the ultimate goal of curriculum reform. In this curriculum model, students analyze events and situations from multinational perspectives.

Since we live in a global society, students need to learn how to become effective citizens of the world community. This is unlikely to happen if they study historical and contemporary events and situations primarily from the perspectives of ethnic cultures within this nation.

Teaching Multi-ethnic Perspectives

When studying a historical period, such as the colonial period, in a course organized on the *Multi-ethnic Model* (MODEL C), the inquiry would not end with the perspectives of Anglo-American historians and writers (Gay and Banks, 1975). Rather, students would ponder these kinds of questions: Why did Anglo-American historians name the English immigrants "colonists" and other nationality groups "immigrants?" How do Native American historians view the colonial period? Do their views of the period differ in any substantial ways from the views of Anglo-American historians? Why or why not? What was life like for Jews, Blacks, and other ethnic groups in America during the 17th and 18th centuries? How do we know? In other words, in courses and programs organized on MODEL C, students would view historical and contemporary events and situations from the perspectives of different ethnic and racial groups.

I am not suggesting that we eliminate or denigrate Anglo-American perspectives on American society. I am merely suggesting that Anglo-American perspectives should be among the many different ethnic perspectives taught in the schools. Only by teaching in this way will students get a global, rather than an ethnocentric, view of our nation's history and cultures.

A writer's experience and culture influences one's views of the past and present (Hughes, 1972). However, it would be simplistic to argue that there is one Anglo-American view or one Black view of history and contemporary events. Wide differences in experiences and perceptions exist both within and across ethnic groups. Those who have experienced a historical event or a social phenomenon, such as racial bigotry or internment, often view the event differently from those who have observed it from a distance. There is no one Anglo-American perspective on the internment as there is no one Japanese-American view of it. However, accounts written by those who were interned, such as Takashima's powerful *A Child in Prison Camp* (1971), often provide insights that cannot be provided by outside observers. Individuals who viewed the internment from a distance can also provide us with important points of view. Both

Table 1

STUDYING CULTURE FROM AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE*

DISCIPLINE OR CURRICULUM AREA	KEY OR FOCUS QUESTION
Social Studies	In what ways are the cultures of ethnic groups such as Afro-Americans, Jewish-Americans, and Mexican-Americans, similar and different? Why?
Reading and Literature	How does fiction and other literary works by ethnic American authors reveal characteristics and components of their cultures?
Music	What does the music of an ethnic group reveal about its values, symbols, and culture?
Drama	What do plays written by ethnic authors reveal about their cultures?
Physical Education	How do ethnic groups express their cultures, values, aspirations, and frustrations in their dances and creative movements?
Art	What does the art of an ethnic group reveal about its life styles, perceptions, values, history, and culture?
Communication (Language Arts)	How does the language of an ethnic group express and reflect its values and culture? What can we learn about an ethnic group by studying its symbols and communication styles, both verbal and nonverbal?
Home Economics	What do ethnic foods reveal about an ethnic group's values and culture? What can we learn about an ethnic culture by studying its foods?
Science	How do the physical characteristics of an ethnic group influence its interactions with other groups, intragroup relationships, and its total culture?
Mathematics	What is the relationship between the number system used within a society and its culture? What do the symbol systems within a culture reveal about it? Historically, what contributions have different ethnic groups made to our number system?

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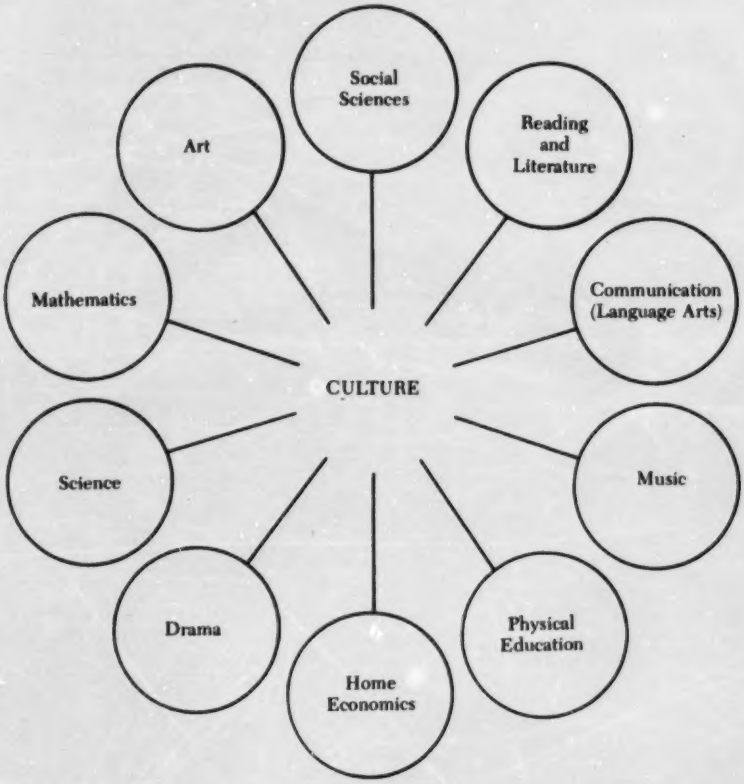
Figure 1

STUDYING CULTURE FROM AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE*

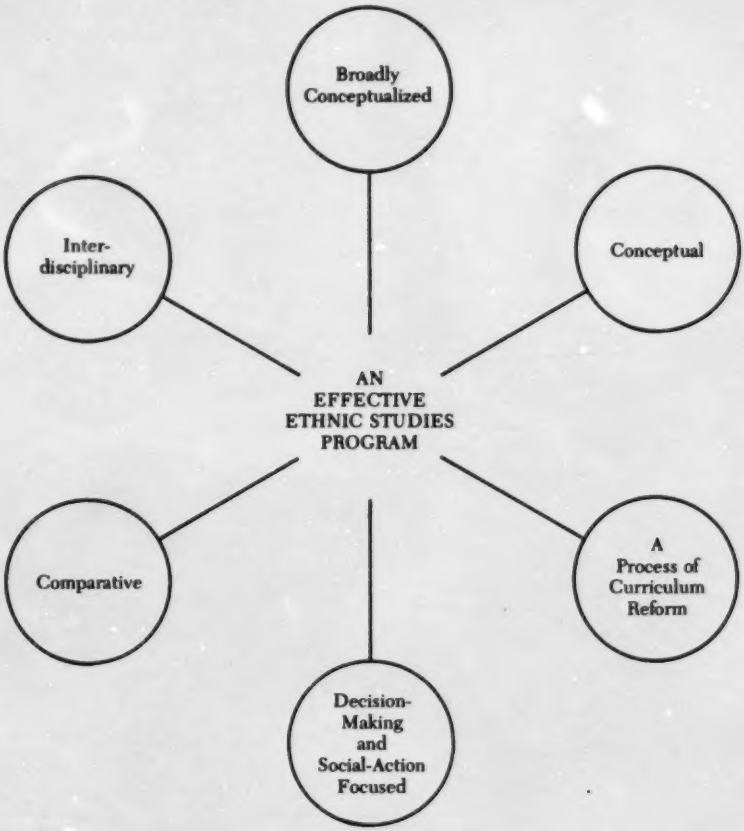


This figure illustrates how a concept such as *culture* can be viewed from the perspectives of a number of disciplines and areas. Any one discipline gives only a partial understanding of a concept, social problem or issue. Thus, ethnic studies units, lessons, and programs should be interdisciplinary.

*Adapted, with permission, from James A. Banks, *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1975), p. 52. © 1975 by Allyn and Bacon, Inc. All rights reserved.

Figure 2

THE COMPONENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM*



Effective ethnic studies programs must be conceptual, broadly conceptualized, interdisciplinary, comparative, decision-making, and social action focused, and viewed as a process of curriculum reform.

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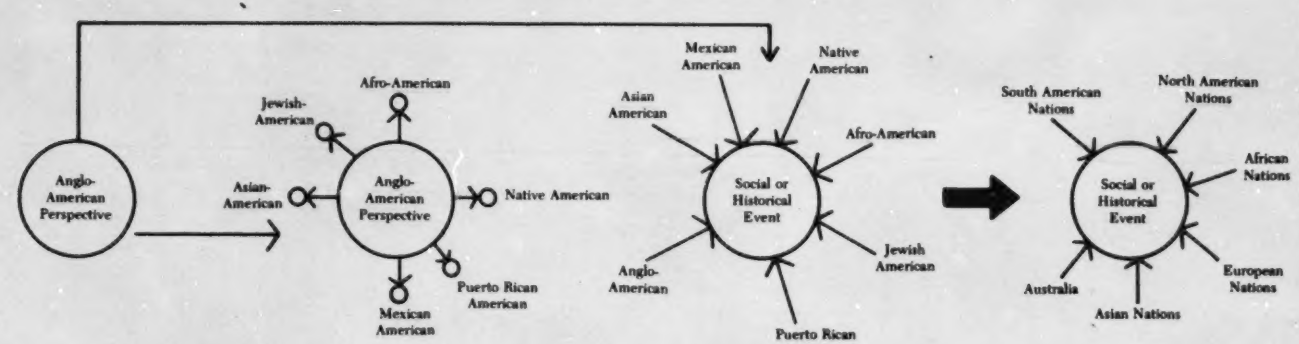
Figure 3

ETHNIC STUDIES AS A PROCESS OF CURRICULUM CHANGE



MODEL A

Anglo-American Centric Model

MODEL B

Ethnic Additive Model

MODEL C

Multiethnic Model

MODEL D

Multinational Model

Ethnic studies is conceptualized as a process of curriculum reform which can lead from a total Anglo-American perspective on our history and culture (MODEL A), to multiethnic perspectives as additives to the major curriculum thrust (MODEL B), to a completely multiethnic curriculum in which every historical and social event is viewed from the perspectives of different ethnic groups (MODEL C). In MODEL C the Anglo-American perspective is only one of several and is in no way superior or inferior to other ethnic perspectives. MODEL D, which is multinational, is the ultimate curriculum goal. In this curriculum model, students study historical and social events from multinational perspectives and points of view. Many schools that have attempted ethnic modification of the curriculum have implemented MODEL B types of programs. It is suggested here that curriculum reform move directly from MODEL A to MODEL C and ultimately to MODEL D. However, in those districts which have MODEL B types of programs, it is suggested that they move from MODEL B to MODEL C and eventually to MODEL D types of curricular organizations.

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perspectives should be studied in a sound curriculum.

We can fully understand the complex dimensions of American society and culture only by looking at events, such as the internment, from many different perspectives. Various ethnic groups within our society are influenced differently by events; consequently, they perceive them differently. One of the goals of ethnic studies should be to change the basic assumptions about what "American" means and to present students with new ways of viewing and interpreting the society and culture of the United States. Goals that are less ambitious will not result in the radical curriculum reform I consider imperative.

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14

Evaluating And Choosing Instructional Materials: Increasing The Options For Choice

Louise Tyler

Individuals learn what has personal value to them.

THIS PAPER IS a statement on the important task of evaluating and choosing instructional materials. There are six sections to the paper: (1) puzzlements, (2) assumptions, (3) recommendations for evaluating instructional materials, (4) discussion of selected recommendations, (5) application of recommendations — an illustration, and (6) developmental psychology as a source of helpful ideas.

Puzzlements

Of the many instructional materials in the Curriculum Inquiry Center at UCLA, I have selected one small booklet which is illustrative of some of my puzzlements. It can also serve as an example for the application of some recommendations for evaluating and choosing materials. While some comments will be made about this particular booklet, many of my comments will be generally applicable to most instructional materials.

The booklet I wish to share with you is titled, *How to Tell a Mother From a Father* (1973). It is the thirteenth booklet in Bookshop A; these are booklets that are an integral part of a set of instructional materials developed by Curriculum Development Associates. In this booklet, which pictures mothers and fathers in similar roles, the second-from-the-last page raises the question, "How do you tell a mother from a father?" The response is given as follows: You can't *always* tell:

by how long their hair is,
by how big they are,
by what they wear,
by where they work,
by what they do

The last page then raises the question, "How do *you* tell a mother from a father?"

Now, what are my puzzlements and from what did they arise? They arise from my confusion about (1) the various guidelines formulated by educational groups, publishing companies, and scholars; (2) knowledge that is developing in various fields, e.g., psychology, sociology; and (3) my own personal reactions to materials and guidelines.

Guidelines

The following are two guidelines from those formulated by Rosenberg (1973). I will respond to each of these in order to illustrate some of my confusions.

12. Assist students to recognize clearly the basic similarities among all members of the human race, and the uniqueness of every single individual? Yes____No____
15. Supply an accurate and sound balance in the matter of historical perspective, making it perfectly clear that all racial and religious and ethnic groups have mixed heritages, which can well serve as sources of both group pride and group humility? (p. 109) Yes____No____

Some of my reflections and questions are as follows: In regard to Guideline 12, what are the basic similarities among all members of the human race? Are they primarily biological, e.g., need for food, clothing, shelter? Or does this guideline refer also to such human characteristics as dexterity, sociability and to intelligence, whatever they may mean. On Guideline 15, I infer that "groups" have some things in common that both resemble and differ from one another. Yet, I have trouble synthesizing this inference in Guideline 12 about basic similarities among all members of the human race. To continue in a questioning fashion, if I value the principle of accepting people on the basis of individual worth, then how am I to respond to discussion about group rights, e.g., Jews, Catholics, women? I find myself in agreement with Edwin Newman in *Strictly Speaking* (1974):

I am made uncomfortable when I hear the breakdown of voting results according to religion and race and national origin. Not because it is not a generally efficacious way to figure out how an election is going — its efficacy has been demonstrated — but because it helps to perpetuate divisions that we might be better off without, because it leads people to go on thinking of themselves in a particular way, as members of a particular group, which may have little connection with the issues the election is about. (p. 79)

I am well aware, however, that ethnic differences are important. For example, in an issue of the *Los Angeles Times*, there was a news article, titled "Heart Specialist Urges Study of Ethnic Medicine," (December, 1975). The article discussed the need to focus on the health peculiarities of racial groups; it indicates the diseases that show a predilection for ethnic

groups, e.g., Tay-Sachs disease for Jews; Sacroidosis for Swedes; Cooley's anemia for Italians, Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians; cancer of the esophagus for Japanese, and a type of epilepsy (due to tapeworm infection) for Mexicans. Some of these diseases have a genetic base; others, an environmental one.

Here is an excerpt from the McGraw-Hill Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes:

Books designed for children at the pre-school, elementary, and secondary levels should show married women who work outside the home and should treat them favorably. Teaching materials should not assume or imply that most women are wives who are also full-time mothers, but should instead emphasize the fact that women have choices about their marital status, just as men do: that some women choose to stay permanently single and some are in no hurry to marry; that some women marry but do not have children, while others marry, have children, and continue to work outside the home. Thus, a text might say that some married people have children and some do not, and that sometimes one or both parents *work outside the home. Instructional materials should never imply that all women have a "mother instinct" or that the emotional life of a family suffers because a woman works. Instead they might state that when both parents work outside the home there is usually either greater sharing of the child-rearing activities or reliance on day-care centers, nursery schools, or other help.*

According to Labor Department statistics for 1972, over 42 per cent of all mothers with children under 18 worked outside the home, and about a third of these working mothers had children under 6. Publications ought to reflect this reality.

Both men and women should be shown engaged in home maintenance activities, ranging from cooking and housecleaning to washing the car and making household repairs. Sometimes the man should be shown preparing meals, doing the laundry, or diapering the baby, while the woman builds bookcases or takes out the trash. (pp. 2-3)

As I read this guideline, a number of questions arise. What is meant by *choice?* Do women really have choices about their marital status, as men presumably do? In the last several years, I have heard men complain that the cultural pressure to get married was tremendous. I doubt the notion that when both parents work outside the home there is necessarily greater sharing of the child-rearing activities or reliance on other agencies. Is this *really* so? If not, are new instructional materials propagandizing "new lies?"

I find myself frequently uncomfortable with much of the materials written on "sexism." Let me give a few examples. I have served in various leadership capacities, and I was just as uncomfortable being called *chairman* as I am now being called *chair.* I also find puzzling why the expression "the average person" is a desirable alternative to "the man in the street." Saying what we mean accurately is no easy task, particularly at a time when changes are occurring. Because we as educators, researchers, and/or pub-

lishers are not yet completely clear about all these issues basic to the development of curriculum and instructional materials; we need to concentrate our energies on true liberation rather than on trivialities.

Recommendations for evaluating curriculum materials, on which I worked with a colleague, are equally subject to questioning (Tyler, Klein, *et al.*, 1976). Of the recommendations that appear in the Tyler-Klein document, many still seem necessary and desirable; however, difficulties in applying them have made me question our recommendations, just as I have questioned many other published set of guidelines.

Assumptions

Ten assumptions underlie the Tyler-Klein recommendations and their use. Briefly stated, these assumptions are as follows:

The first assumption is that people are defined by their choices. Only as we make decisions and act upon them, do we realize our potential. Bettelheim in *The Informed Heart* (1965), which deals with his concentration camp experience in Germany, gives a very moving description of a young woman's behavior that sheds light on this assumption. This woman was among a group of naked prisoners about to enter the gas chamber. When the commanding SS officer learned that she was a dancer, he ordered her to dance for him. As she approached him in her dance, she seized his gun and shot him. She, too, was immediately shot. Bettelheim commented that this dancer finally threw off her real chains, in that she did not surrender but chose a purpose for which to die.

A second assumption is Aristotle's idea: "For reason more than anything else is man." This is of unquestioned importance in my conception of man: To realize what we inherently can be, our decisions must in part be determined by reason. A third assumption is Socrates' idea: "The unexamined life is not worth living." This statement suggests that to think about life, about wise decisions, is essential if existence is to be worthwhile.

My fourth assumption is one that frequently appears in psychological literature concerning personality development or therapy. Freud said, "The voice of the intellect is a soft one, but it does not rest till it has gained a hearing." The idea is that people must decide intelligently about their destiny and that the intellect is not only necessary but is persistent.

That rationality is both logical and intuitive is the fifth assumption. Ornstein (1972) explains that the cerebral cortex of the brain is divided into hemispheres joined by interconnecting fibers called *corpus callosum*. The left hemisphere is predominantly involved with analytical and logical thinking in verbal and mathematical functions. The right hemisphere appears to be primarily responsible for, among other things, our orientation in space, artistic endeavors, and our sense of body image. The left hemisphere processes information in a linear fashion, while the right hemisphere processes information differently perceiving and integrating

material in a simultaneous or catalog fashion.

Up to this point, the emphasis in education has been on rationality. The sixth assumption is that, however necessary rationality is, it is not sufficient. As Bettelheim (1965) says, "The daring heart must invade reason with its own living warmth, even if the symmetry of reason must give away to admit love and the pulsation of life" (p. viii).

The seventh assumption has to do with the function of institutions. Institutions should be evaluated in the light of their contribution to humankind's development. Since schools, churches, and governments exist to provide service to people, they should therefore be evaluated in humanistic terms.

My eighth assumption is that education is an art based upon science (Maritain, 1973). The educator applies scientific methods and procedures in an artful fashion to develop the natural abilities of each student. Art, in this sense, works with the principles of nature; and by working in harmony with them, facilitates the results that occur.

Schooling should be viewed as a process. This ninth assumption is somewhat similar to one made by Goodlad in an address at Phi Delta Upsilon, UCLA, Los Angeles, California in which he views schooling as functions to be performed rather than as tied to a place where these functions occur. The last assumption may be stated as follows: Individuals learn what has personal value to them.

Recommendations For Evaluating Instructional Materials

The recommendations that we (Tyler-Klein *et al.*, 1976) have formulated have been grouped in the following categories:

I. Rationale
II. Specifications
III. Appropriateness
IV. Effectiveness
V. Conditions
VI. Practicality
VII. Dissemination

Under *Rationale* are found statements concerning several of the basic principles of curriculum and instruction. The section on *Specifications* pertains to the objectives. Under the category *Appropriateness* are statements having to do with the nature of the learner for whom the material is being developed. *Effectiveness* is concerned with characteristics and conditions necessary for determining the impact of curriculum and instruction. Under *Conditions* are statements having to do with characteristics, provisions, and procedures necessary if the curriculum of materials are to be utilized. *Practicality* pertains to cost of materials, building facilities, etc. Finally, *Dissemination* is concerned with effective communication practices.

There are, in all, 28 recommendations grouped under these eight categories in the Tyler-Klein document. I shall refer, however, to only eight of them; they are as follows:

Rationale

R1. The value of the objectives must be substantiated. (Essential)

R3. The basis for the selection of the content of the curriculum and instructional materials must be described. (Essential)

R5. Learning opportunities should be directly related to the behavior and content of the specified objectives. (Essential)

Specifications

S2. Objectives should be specified operationally, i.e., behavioral responses of students. (Essential)

Appropriateness

A1. The kind of student for whom the curriculum and instructional materials are designed should be specified. (Essential)

A2. The curriculum and instructional materials should be revised at appropriate intervals. (Essential)

Effectiveness

E1. Technical manuals should cite sources of available evidence to document any claims made about effectiveness and efficiency. (Essential)

Conditions

C3. The technical manual must describe in detail the kinds of behavior which the teacher is to utilize. (Desirable)

Discussion Of Selected Recommendations

Each of these selected recommendations will be discussed in turn.

R1. The value of the objectives must be substantiated. (Essential)

The producer of curriculum and instructional materials should present documentation about the value of the objectives formulated. The consumer will profit from an opportunity to examine this substantiation. It will help in selecting curriculum and instructional materials consistent with the consumer's values. Or it is conceivable that the justification may be persuasive enough so that the consumer may change his objectives.

R3. The basis for the selection of the content of the curriculum and instructional materials must be described. (Essential)

The developer or producer should explain on what basis the content was selected. For example, on what grounds are topics of time, space, matter, light, and motion selected as basic components of a physics textbook? The basis for this recommendation is similar to that for R1: if the producer is required to inform the consumer of the basis upon which content is selected, more significant content will probably be selected. Furthermore, a description of the basis upon which content was selected makes it possible

for the consumer to more wisely select materials for the local situation.

R5. Learning opportunities should be directly related to the behavior and content of the specified objectives. (Essential)

Inspection of learning opportunities, (e.g., films, texts, and activities) can be done in order to make some judgments about the relevance of the learning opportunities to the objectives. For example, if the objective was to develop the ability to formulate problems in biology, and the laboratory manual was so written that the problem was always given to the student, learning opportunity could be questioned.

S2. Objectives should be specified operationally, i.e., behavioral responses of students. (Essential)

Behavior is broadly defined as including thoughts, feelings, and actions. The objectives can be clarified further by describing the evaluation procedures regarded as appropriate.

A1. The kind of student for whom the curriculum and instructional materials are designed should be specified. (Essential)

Characteristics of students for whom the materials were designed (such as age, sex, prerequisite skills, and socio-economic class) are to be reported. Curricula and materials can be more effectively designed if characteristics of learners are specified. This information also helps the consumer select materials appropriate for particular learners.

A2. The curriculum and instructional materials should be revised at appropriate intervals. (Essential)

Changes in subject matter, as well as in the nature of student abilities and interests, make periodic revision of curriculum and instructional materials essential. In some subject areas (e.g., biology), knowledge and methodology are changing rapidly. Curriculum and instructional materials must, therefore, reflect these changes.

E1. Technical manuals should cite sources of available evidence to document any claims made about effectiveness and efficiency. (Essential)

These sources should not be limited to the project's studies but should include evidence from other carefully documented studies. Studies done to evaluate the programs should be described in a straightforward manner.

C3. The technical manual must describe in detail the kinds of behavior which the teacher is to utilize. (Desirable)

Instructional materials may require teacher competencies quite different from those teacher users now possess. These required competencies must be described in detail so that the curriculum and materials can be effectively utilized. For example, if a curriculum or set of materials is based upon the student's developing inquiry skills, and new teacher competencies are essential, needed behaviors must be described in detail so that the

teacher can adequately utilize the materials.

Application Of Recommendations — An Illustration

Any set of guidelines or recommendations, even if clear, are not easy to apply. In my evaluation of instructional materials, I do not apply the criteria or recommendations in sequential fashion. For example, I first assess the materials in terms of S2 (objectives should be specified operationally, i.e., in terms of behavioral responses of students); next in terms of R1 (the value of the objectives must be substantiated); ten in terms of two criteria of appropriateness: A1 (the kind of student for whom the curriculum and instructional materials are designed should be specified), and A2 (the curriculum and instructional materials should be revised at appropriate intervals). I usually scan the instructional material(s) and also read any informational material available. A well-documented set of materials usually makes it fairly easy to determine what the objectives are (S2), for whom the materials are developed (A1), as well as their up-to-dateness (A2).

Now, if we look at these recommendations with regard to an exemplar, *How to Tell a Mother From a Father* (1973), discussed earlier in this paper, we note that the Bookshops' prime objective is to foster the habit and love of reading (R1). To us, this is a very desirable objective, and we think we have some idea of what it means (S2). Some additional characteristics of the stories included in the Bookshops are noted, i.e., fair representation of all kinds of people, and concern with the universals of life, readability, and diversity. Recommendation (A1) is concerned with the kind(s) of students for which this instructional material is appropriate. What would you say? Possibly you don't consider the materials appropriate for any child. Certainly, they introduce some concepts countervailing to frequently encountered notions of mothers and fathers. This judgment, of course, should relate to A2, the need for up-to-dateness.

At this stage in our evaluation, we begin consciously to focus on recommendations (R3) (the basics for the selection of content . . . must be described), as well as R5 (learning opportunities should be directly related to the behavior and content of the specified objectives). To a certain extent, this little booklet gives fair representation of all kinds of people. Whether it recognizes the fundamental notion of "father" and "mother" or what underlies it, we are not so sure. Some research is needed to clarify concepts in the process of change.

With regard to E1 (technical manuals should cite sources of available evidence to document any claims made about effectiveness and efficiency), I found no evidence in the informational material I was able to secure. I have not written the publisher, however, to request information on what evaluation studies might have been made. An evaluator or classroom teacher would need to do this. Criterion-referenced tests are included, a practice that is very unusual but essential.

Developmental Psychology As A Source For Helpful Ideas

Sociologists and psychologists are making great contributions to our understanding of individuals, their growth, development, and behavior — individually and in groups. All areas of knowledge need to be utilized for enlightening the educational process.

In our attempt to obtain some insight into both the evaluation of instructional materials and the meaning underlying the booklet, *How to Tell a Mother From a Father* (1973) (as an exemplar of the whole issue of sexism in curricular materials), we begin to peruse the writings of several psychologists, particularly those of Erickson (1962, 1974) and Bettelheim (1975). These psychologists are cited as illustrative of persons whose knowledge may be helpful to us in developing instructional materials.

In 1975, Bettelheim wrote a brief statement, "Some Further Thoughts on the Doll Corner," that is very provocative. This is a statement supplementing an article by Paley (1973) titled "Is the Doll Corner a Sexist Institution?" This is a thought-provoking, charming discussion of how little girls take the same "feminine" roles in the doll corner that their mothers took a quarter century ago. Of the 30 mothers of the children in this kindergarten, three-fourths are professionals; of the six who do not work at their profession, three are working on graduate degrees.

Bettelheim (1975) makes the point that children, in their play in the doll corner, act out their fantasy wish that mother remain home with baby all day long. Children do not act the fantasy of father's staying at home, inasmuch as mother is much more important as the source of physical and emotional security. Bettelheim also says that children try to come to terms with a question central to their young lives: What can I do in this world? What can my body do? What is it good for? These are questions that deal with individuation. Girls and boys are dealing with these questions in relation to their unconscious and semiconscious conceptions of what their bodies are all about.

Bettelheim introduces Erickson's concept of "inner space" in his discussion about girls' views of themselves, and his concept of "outer space" in discussing boys' self-concepts. If a child's early play, according to Bettelheim, does not create the basis for a mature acceptance of sex identity, one which no longer rests on the notion that occupation is sex-related, a child may later have difficulty in developing this attitude.

Bettelheim ends his provocative essay on "the doll corner" by indicating that what was wrong with the old views of sex roles was not the ways children played them out, but the fact that later education failed to assure them that sex differences are not attached to particular occupational roles. He closes with the following statement:

Only on such firmly established assurance that in one most important respect men and women are quite dissimilar can be built the conviction that

they are equally equipped to assume most important functions in society. Only after security about being a female or a male has been gained does it stop making any difference whether a person is a male or female physician, physicist, or truck driver. Because only then can they be satisfied at the same time with their sex and their occupation. (pp. 367-368)

Conclusion

The title of this paper included increasing our options in education. Since this notion may not have been made sufficiently explicit, a few comments will now be made to clarify it.

First, for teachers who are supportive, facilitating persons, the use of the Tyler-Klein recommendations, particularly those on appropriateness and effectiveness, will make it possible for them to demand materials that increase the likelihood of children's developing their full potentialities.

Second, in helping learners, who are our prime concern, teachers will find that sound knowledge of developmental psychology is essential. Only as we increase our understanding of children's development (and consequently our own) will we be able to supply an instructional setting and curricular materials that will facilitate their development rather than satisfy us adults in acting out issues we have failed to resolve satisfactorily in our own lives.

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15

Issues Of Cultural Diversity In Testing

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. . . parents and teachers are correct in saying that currently used readiness and achievement tests are culturally biased against minority-group children.

THIS PAPER IS concerned with the issue of cultural bias and the use of tests. We would like to give you an idea of how we see some of these issues. First, we assume that one of our major concerns is the high failure rate of minority-group children in the current educational system. We know this: we don't need tests to document the situation. Businessmen are complaining that many students from our schools are unemployable in terms of their basic skills; there are many dropouts, and many students who remain are dissatisfied with the way in which they are being educated.

Bases For Anxiety About The Use And Misuse Of Standardized Tests

We know that tests have dramatically and continually demonstrated the high failure rate among minority students. We believe that it is the high anxiety about tests, the way in which the information is used, and what purposes it is used for. The results of tests have been misinterpreted and used in harmful ways against the people who take the tests. For example, social scientists such as Madison Grant used the low average intelligence test scores of immigrant groups as evidence of the threat of such "hordes" to the American tradition. His book *The Passing of the Great Race* (1921), was extremely influential in effecting passage of restrictive immigration laws in 1924. While we can appreciate now the tremendous cultural bias of those tests, we are also aware that the information generated from those tests are used against the individuals tested, in the sense that restrictive laws were passed, and families and relatives were unable to come to America.

More recently we have seen comparable misinterpretation and misuse of

test results, as demonstrated in the case of *Diana vs. San Francisco*. In this case Mexican-American children, not fluent in English, had been administered intelligence tests in English. On the basis of the invalid scores obtained, many of them had been incorrectly placed in classes for the mentally retarded.

There are legitimate reasons for the anxiety many people have about the use of test results. One source of this anxiety is the fact that minority-group children have had high failure rates. Many educators who are interested in efficiency and effectiveness, and even those with a more humanistic approach to education, ask: "Who's to blame for this? We've got to do something about it."

In the last few years, two major groups have been prime targets for blame; critics have used the information about student failure against them. Those two major groups have been (1) the child and the family; and (2) the school system and the teacher, in particular the teacher. Now, the natural consequence of being blamed is to try and move off target, to defend one's self, and perhaps to project the blame elsewhere. Well, what has happened? These two groups have developed explanations to deal with the blame that's been thrust upon them.

In many situations, the child and the family have not been in the same camp as the teachers. At one time, tests were highly endorsed by teachers as part of the scientific base for education. As the blame for poor scores was shifted from children to teachers, however, teachers' groups began organizing against testing.

In fact, as teachers have become concerned about being blamed for the failure of children, they have joined parents in endorsing the explanation that the high failure rate on standardized tests is due to the fact that the tests are culturally biased. The inferences usually made are: (1) that if the tests were not biased, differences in the performance of minority-group children would disappear; and (2) since tests are biased, they should not be used.

It is a fact that many minority-group children enter school with highly developed linguistic skills and cultural styles that are different from those demanded at school; the literature is replete with discussions of this fact. Therefore, we take it as given that both parents and teachers are correct in saying that currently used readiness and achievement tests are culturally biased against minority-group children. To many teachers and minority-group people, the cultural-difference argument constitutes a reasonable justification for eliminating the tests. Teachers don't like to be blamed for the child's not passing the test, nor do minority-group families. In many instances, they may be embarrassed by the concept of cultural differences.

Proposals For Using, Adapting, Or Eliminating Standardized Tests

The question, then, is this: Is there justification for eliminating tests because they are culturally biased? Is this action reasonable? Perhaps the answer is no. First, let's look at what the tests are and what purposes they serve. It is true that the tests sample vocabulary, mathematics concepts, and information of the mainstream culture. It is also true that the tests are usually good predictors of later school performance. If you can master the test-related content, your chances of success are greater in terms of school achievement, jobs requiring verbal skills, and opportunities for higher education. Given these facts concerning tests, what can one infer about a child outside of the mainstream culture who takes them? The child's test performance does not mean the same as that of a child who is a product of the dominant culture.

A child examinee who is a product of the dominant culture is demonstrating how well he/she learned that culture. A child who is not a product of the dominant culture is demonstrating the extent to which he/she has been acculturated. The child is showing how much has been learned about a different culture, one that may be difficult for him/her to learn because it may have been presented in ways that say: "The way you are is no good, and only through adopting this culture can you be good!"

The tests, then, assess how well a culturally different child has learned a sample of mainstream content and skills. Therefore, one cannot say that tests should be eliminated because they cheat the child of the opportunity to learn. After all, it is presumably a major obligation of the school system to prepare children for participation in the mainstream culture.

Since the goals of public education include the preparation of *all* children to function economically and socially in the larger society, it would appear unreasonable to us to reject tests that serve as a barometer of the attainment of those goals. It would be analogous to the ancient practice of shooting the messenger because he/she brings bad news. If one of the goals of public education is knowledge of the mainstream culture, then tests that sample such knowledge and skills appear to be appropriate tools. Now, that position does not mean that we can accept the fact that test results are frequently misinterpreted and misused. Everyone concerned in the educative process needs to understand that tests used with minority-group children provide indicators of acculturation and not learning ability. Given the cultural diversity of our school population, three possible alternatives exist concerning testing:

1. Use present tests as barometers of how well students are progressing in knowledge and skills needed to compete in the present system;
2. Develop and use a variety of types of tests, each type culture-specific to an ethnic minority group; and

3. Abandon standardized testing.

Tests And Barometers

Educators who argue for the barometer approach believe that while the tests may yield little information of value on individual children, they may still be useful in determining how well the school system is meeting its goals, particularly concerning the progress of culturally diverse children. The problem encountered by the District of Columbia Public Schools following the *Brown* decision is an apt analogy. The District of Columbia had a segregated school system in 1954. When the *Brown* decision (declaring that separate education could not be equal) came down, the school board issued the following statement in a press conference: "We are going to dismantel our segregated school system and we are going to have a color-blind school system. We are not going to know who's black or who's white." However, Washington quickly rescinded that policy statement when they realized that, to comply with the *Brown* decision, they had to know who was white and who was black in order to determine whether or not the system was meeting its obligations under the court ruling.

Culture-Specific Tests

Some people have advocated that educators should develop and use alternative tests, tests which are culture-specific in that they focus on the ethnic child and the culture. Unfortunately, there have not been many serious attempts at this. An example of one such test is the Black Intelligence Test for Cultural Honkies (BITCH), developed by Robert Williams (described in Samuda, 1975, p. 145). It is a multiple-choice vocabulary test, based exclusively on the Black subculture. While this test certainly demonstrates the fact that an examinee who doesn't know the culture can't pass the test, the value of the test as a predictor of real-life criteria of educational or occupational success has not been studied. The work of Mercer in demonstrating how tests reflect acculturation began with thorough research studies (Mercer, 1971) and has resulted in recommendations for alternative procedures (Mercer, 1977). Samuda (1975, pp. 142-145) reviews the meager efforts which have been made in the development of culture-specific tests, as well as other alternatives to traditional, standardized tests (Samuda, 1975, pp. 131-157). Until the goals are officially changed, it seems legitimate that the schools obtain information on the degree to which such goals are met.

No Tests

Where does this discussion leave us? Ten years ago we had standardized tests and large groups of minority children failing those tests. We still have the same tests, and we still have large numbers of children failing. Now we have a growing controversy over what to do with standardized tests, a controversy that consumes a great deal of time and energy.

We recently spent some time trying to determine who uses test scores and how. Our brief examination led us to wonder whether testing programs are currently useful or necessary. The following anecdotes are illustrative. A group of educators were preparing a test in a specific content area. They informed us that it was their intent to make the test difficult, thereby insuring low scores. They felt that when the general public and policy-makers saw the low scores they would be so alarmed that they would channel more money and more teachers into that subject area. Their hopes were based on what happened in science education following the launching of Sputnik by the Russians. Other educators assured us that the tests would not be useful and that publicity concerning low scores would not be rewarded. The public and policy-makers, on the contrary, would take money (special programs) away from minority-group children because of a sense of futility when test scores were being used as a political football to prove already preconceived notions about what was valuable in education (Fitzgibbon, 1973).

A principal and a counselor, who were both arguing against use of group tests, put it another way. They said that a good teacher or principal knows enough about student achievement in school and that the test results provide no new information. Moreover, the test results might be used negatively by individuals who did not understand the limitations of tests. On the other hand, they argue, a poor teacher who does not know how much students are learning will not be able to use test results effectively. Therefore, they conclude, tests should be eliminated because they have the potential to do more harm than good.

We believe the socio-political uses of tests results should be considered carefully in any discussion of tests. This puts us in a position of saying that perhaps tests should be abandoned now, but that at another time, in a different political climate, these same tests might prove valuable.

It is clear that many people are criticizing tests as they are currently constructed, used, and interpreted as a basis for policy decisions. While the voices are consistent in criticizing the tests and declaring them irrelevant or culturally biased, there is little argument concerning how the problems of irrelevance and cultural bias should be addressed. One major attack on the problem tends to be technical, the presumption being that what is needed are better tests. We tend to disagree with that position. As we demonstrated earlier, the same results from a testing program can be used for diverse policy ends — either as a basis for expanding or terminating a program. That being the case, we find tests in themselves irrelevant to policy decisions. It reminds us of the response we once received from a former cabinet member when we asked him for his definition of policy-relevant research. The cabinet member smiled broadly and replied: "Policy-relevant research . . . is whatever research fits my policy."

The public and policy-makers, no matter how improved tests become, will continue to use test results to support their own belief-systems. Until we can use test results in a fact-finding spirit, changing tests seems to be a futile exercise. Therefore, we opt for the alternative of suspending testing for the present.

Such a position is tentative and reminds us of the story about the boy who was sitting doing his homework when his grandfather approached and said: "David, life is like a cup of tea." The little boy looked up startled and asked: "Grandpa, why is life like a cup of tea?" The grandfather stroked his beard, thought for a moment, and said: "Alright, life is *not* like a cup of tea."

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